

السنة الأولى 1996

Saturday January 13 1996

Abs Dhabi D 0.50	Hong Kong HK\$ 2.50	Pakistan R 70
Algeria 220	Hungary F 200	Poland Z 6.70
Andorra FF 10	Indonesia Rp 165	Portugal E 200
Australia AS \$ 2.00	Italy L 1,000	Russia R 50
Bahrain B.D. 2.00	Japan Y 100	Saudi Arabia S 2.00
Belgium BF 50	Korea W 100	Slovakia SK 50
Brazil R 1,270	Latvia L 50	Slovenia S 1,200
Canada C 1.00	Lithuania L 50	Spain P 165
Czech Republic KC 45	Luxembourg LF 55	Sweden SK 16
Denmark DK 15	Malta M 0.42	Switzerland SF 3
Dollar D 0.50	Morocco M 10	Thailand B 10
Euro E 1.00	Netherlands G 1.75	Turkey T 100.00
Finland FM 11	Norway NK 15	Ukraine U 2.00
France F 10	Poland P 100	USA US \$ 2.75
Germany DM 3.50	Portugal P 200	
Greece D 200	Spain S 165	

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Finance
US arms industry humbles Europeans
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So farewell Dickie Bird
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Major stands firm on Tory vision

Patrick Wintour, Chief Political Correspondent

THE Prime Minister yesterday rejected Lady Thatcher's call to abandon One Nation Conservatism, insisting he would not be deflected from his determination to fight the next election from the centre ground.

Looking relaxed in public, but described as privately livid at Lady Thatcher's latest broadside, Mr Major insisted: "We have been a One Nation Conservative Party since the beginning of time and we are now. Who could suggest differently? How could you possibly have a two-nation party of any sort?"

He implicitly rejected her analysis that the party had shifted to the left under his leadership, saying his policies of low taxes, greater choice, and more home ownership were part of a continuum stretching back to 1978.

His carefully crafted and firm riposte was, in large part, designed to placate the Tory left and prevent speech acting as the catalyst for further defections.

In public, cabinet left-wingers sought to put the most favourable face on her controversial Thursday night speech, her first on domestic politics for five years, highlighting the attack on Tony Blair. In private they shared the exasperation of many backbenchers at her call for a return to true right-wing policies. They claimed she had deliberately stoked up the party's civil war on Europe and, unforgivably, legitimised further rebellions by advocating dissent within the party.

Speaking in his Huntingdon constituency Mr Major gave his direct reply to Lady Thatcher's call to do more to placate the middle classes, promising: "I will not be pushed off what I believe to be right. That is not taken short-term popular decisions." His aides vowed he would justify this answer in detail in a speech on the economy next Thursday to the Institute of Directors.

He also said: "The essence of being a One Nation Conservative is the things I have been talking about — an inclusive society dealing with the problems that people face — problems like crime, homelessness, problems like prosperity."

But he avoided any public slight to his one-time patron saying: "Lady Thatcher is a very important part of the Conservative Party. The Conservative Party, as I have been saying for a long time, is a broad church."

"Every part of that Conservative Party has an input into that policy. When we have that input into our policy, we set out what it is, and we live and we win in the centre right of politics."

He also highlighted her attack on the Labour Party: "I rather imagine Lady Thatcher would be rather baffled by much of what she read today in view of the speech she gave yesterday. I think people should read carefully what she has said, including the huge danger of a Labour government."

Mr Lilley, one of the four

Major quotes

What she was pointing out essentially was two things. Firstly the huge danger of having a Labour Government and the way they would throw away what has been achieved over the last 16 years... I saw that set out clearly in the remarks she made yesterday.

We have been a One Nation Conservative Party since the beginning of time and we are now... how can one possibly have a two nation party of any sort?

Lady Thatcher is a very important part of the Conservative Party. The Conservative Party, as I have been saying for a long time, is a broad church. Every part of that Conservative Party has an input into that policy.

Here and abroad we have delivered a platform of prosperity that we have not seen equalled in this country for two decades and I am going to build on that platform of prosperity and I do not intend to be pushed off it.

Right-wing cabinet ministers praised by Lady Thatcher, claimed that if she read out passages of the London telephone directory, the media, with its own agenda, would seek to describe it all as a direct attack on John Major.

The Deputy Prime Minister Michael Heseltine, admitted his party would not win an election if it were called now, but he played down her latest saying: "She did not throw her hat into the ring, she made a speech."

Other senior pro-European Tories did not see her remarks as innocent or misrepresented in the media. The senior Tory attack came from the former foreign secretary, Lord Howe, whose resignation precipitated her downfall. He rounded on her claim that One Nation Toryism might bring about No Nation Toryism.

He said it was an ill-judged gibe at the pro-European politics of many Tory left-wingers since it also showed her deep disrespect for "one of the most sacred phrases in the Tory pantheon — One Nation."

One Nation, No Nation Tories was a glib phrase. "For any Conservative leader to be capable of delivering such a phrase is to reveal a profound misunderstanding of the purpose of the Conservative Party and of our success."

The leftish Tory Reform Group was even more angered, pointing out that in February 1996 she said: "We must learn again to be one nation, or one day we shall be no nation."

Ray Whitney, chairman of the increasingly vocal Pro-European Group was even more dismissive, describing the speech as a voice coming from the cemetery of British politics. "It was very sad really. She looked old and ill."

Smallwood, page 14; Martin Kettle, page 15



RAILTRACK returned Waterloo station's famous Edwardian clock to its home yesterday, 30ft above the main concourse, after three months of meticulous

refurbishment, writes Gary Younge. The complete overhaul and restoration, funded jointly by Railtrack and the Railway Heritage Trust,

used authentic techniques and materials to re-establish the clock's inimitable style. Apart from needing a thorough service, the

clock's appearance had changed significantly over the years after repairs and repainting," said Bob Hill, director of property for Railtrack.

After taking the 1.7 tonne clock from its mounting, the opal glazing panels from each of the four faces were removed. The red and gold-painted

cast iron structure was then shot-blasted, and finally painted by hand, using traditional enamel paints. PHOTOGRAPH: GRAHAM TURNER

German deficit jeopardises single currency timetable

John Palmer in Brussels

SLACKENED growth has made it doubtful whether even core monetary union countries such as Germany and France can meet all the Maastricht treaty conditions for the single currency by the end of next year.

Brussels and European Union governments are now looking for ways to relax interpretations of the treaty conditions, fearing that otherwise the European slowdown will force a delay in the timetable for a single currency beyond January 1999.

"People are looking very closely at the exact wording of the treaty and, in particular, at the need for the European Council to give an 'overall assessment' of whether countries should go ahead to a single currency," one senior official said. "In Madrid last month, the 15 EU heads of government agreed that the final decision about which countries qualify for the single currency will be taken early in 1996 on the basis of data for 1997."

News this week that last year's German budget deficit reached 3.6 per cent — well above the 3 per cent limit set by the treaty — came as a shock to the European Commission and other EU governments.

The knock-on effect of slower growth in Germany could add to unemployment in France and, as a result, push up the deficit there well above 4 per cent next year.

A slowdown would also make it even more difficult for Germany and other countries to reduce total government debt below the 60 per cent of GDP ceiling set by the treaty.

"The treaty does not insist on a simple black and white answer to whether countries meet the precise targets for debt and deficits set out in it," the senior official said. "It rather implies these factors should be taken into account in the overall assessment."

This would mean that countries which fall short of the 3 per cent budget deficit limit at the end of 1997 might still qualify for the single currency if their "planned" deficit for subsequent years

reached 3 per cent. According to some experts, the Maastricht treaty also distinguishes between whether budget deficits are generated by consumption or by investment. This implies that, if EU governments consider the economic slowdown by increased public-sector investment, the resulting deficit might be allowed for when the single currency judgment is made in two years' time.

Governments which have been on the receiving end of scathing German criticism for failure to meet the Maastricht criteria now take comfort from Bonn's embarrassment.

"Perhaps we will hear fewer pious sermons from [the German finance minister] Theo Waigel in future," one diplomat said.

But the fact that Germany now faces similar problems to other EU countries may make it easier to agree on a less dogmatic interpretation of the Maastricht criteria.

The commission moved swiftly yesterday to deny that any delay in the EMU timetable was being considered. "Any remaining doubts

about the commitment to launch the final stage of economic and monetary union in 1999 should have been removed by the Madrid summit," said Patrick Child, a commission spokesman. "That remains the goal we are working to."

Commission economists still predict a sharp recovery in growth throughout Europe in the second half of this year, fuelled in part by lower interest rates, although this forecast is not universally shared in EU member-states.

According to some experts in both Paris and Bonn, a delay in the EMU timetable would not be the disaster it might once have been.

"There is widespread acceptance now that monetary union is more or less politically irreversible," one Paris-based banker said yesterday. "Even the markets increasingly accept that the single currency is going to happen and, therefore, minor hiccups in the timetable are viewed differently."

A postponement of the critical decision to lock exchange rates permanently might also

have the attraction of allowing Italy, Spain — and, perhaps even Britain under Labour — to join in at the same time as the hardcore countries in 2000 or 2001.

A delay in introducing monetary union need not automatically mean delaying the planned introduction of the single currency in 2002. But a delay could weaken the political resolve to reform EU

institutions and move towards political union. A Bonn government official said that Germany now accepts that the decision on monetary union will be based as much on political factors as on a purely reading of the Maastricht treaty.

Leader comment, page 14; Kohl's coalition on the ropes, page 23

Army considers code on sexual harassment if gay ban is lifted

Owen Bennett and David Fairhall

ALEAKED, secret report from the Army's personnel branch reveals that the forces could introduce a code outlawing sexual harassment if forced to admit homosexuals.

The 16-page document, marked "Restricted — Management", concedes that the Army's "favoured solution" of a continued ban could be overturned by the European Court or by Parliament.

The disclosure of a fallback position prepared since summer comes days before the Armed Forces Select Committee considers whether to relax the prohibition. The chiefs of staff of all three services remain opposed to any concession. Ministers are examining the findings of a Ministry of Defence study by the

Harlequins kick name into touch to please Japanese

Robert Armstrong

ENGLISH rugby union yesterday lost one of its most famous names when Harlequins sold it off to a Japanese electronics company. After 130 years of exclusivity, the club will enjoy corporate status as NEC Harlequins of London next season.

The change is part of a three-year £1.5 million "partnership" with the company and comes less than five months after a sport which was once considered the bastion of amateurism turned professional.

Quins' decision was an immediate vote of confidence from Sir Denis Thatcher, a club member for 20 years who attended the sponsorship launch at the Savoy Hotel, London.

He invoked market forces

Army considers code on sexual harassment if gay ban is lifted

Owen Bennett and David Fairhall

as the guiding principle behind the new commercial policy. "Changing the club's title is the modern way," he said. "If sponsors do not get a return for the amounts of money they put into sport then they won't underwrite us."

The club, which is based in the shadow of Twickenham, says it needs the money to compete in the game's burgeoning transfer market. "We will share a commercial partnership but we will not relinquish control over our own destiny," said Quins' chairman, Roger Looker, a merchant banker.

Quins, for whom the England captain, Will Carling plays, also intends to recruit cheer leaders at home games. The Princess of Wales is not expected to apply.

Rugby, page 11

Mad, bad and dangerous to know.

Paul Cézanne, Liam Gallagher and Spike Lee.

The year's most controversial artists previewed, reviewed and interviewed tomorrow in the Observer.

Enjoy them from the safety of your living room.

theObserver

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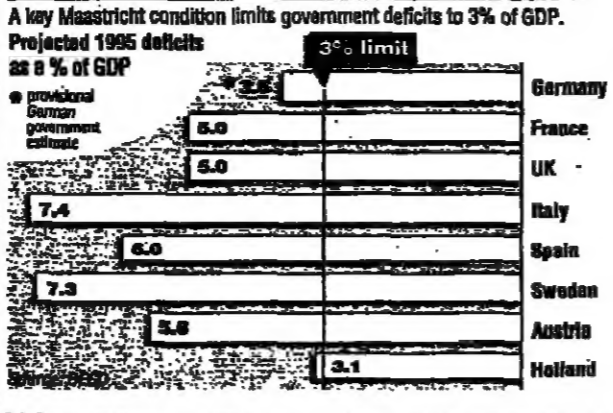
The timetable for EMU is in jeopardy as Europe's key axis wobbles on the road to meeting the conversion criteria

Fears grow that Germany may miss the single currency boat

Mark Milner
EVEN in the darkest hours, supporters of European monetary union have always been able to draw comfort from one seemingly immutable fact: whenever it happened, Germany, linchpin of the whole affair, would be ready.
Now that comfortable assumption is being challenged. German economic performance may not be able to deliver the Maastricht criteria by the end of 1997, leaving Luxembourg the only remaining racing criteria.

settlement, when the going rate came in at 4.5 per cent. Coupled with the strength of the German mark and perennial complaints about the inflexibility of the labour market, the wage round made at least some German companies think twice about domestic investment plans. As a result, in part, Germany is going through what Holger Schmieding, senior economist at Merrill Lynch in Frankfurt, describes as a "mini-recession", with economic growth slowing to zero over the second half of last year and "not much to hope for" in the first three months of this year.

Over the top
A key Maastricht condition limits government deficits to 3% of GDP. Projected 1995 deficits as a % of GDP:



higher economic growth and tax increases (possibly on fuel) will see the government on the right track in 1997.
Others are not so sure. The old certainties have gone, according to Hermann Rensperger, an analyst at BHF bank in Frankfurt. "It is an open question whether Germany will reach the [deficit] criteria. It is not a foregone conclusion." Mr Schmieding has an even

1998 and German membership is certain to become a key issue in the federal elections that year.
Mr Schmieding reckons German politicians will have a hard job selling the idea of giving up the German mark in favour of a single currency. "It will be even harder if Germany does not meet the criteria."
Still, there will be some to whom doubts about EMU will come as a relief. Concern about the introduction of a single currency has promoted the Swiss franc into the role of Europe's strongest currency, not least because it will play no part in EMU.
Such has been the demand that its international value soared to a record level last year. That has hit Swiss exporters and given the central bank a headache trying to keep its pegs to cut its value. Delay to currency union may cast a pall over Paris and Bonn, but it will play well enough in Zurich.



Euro duo... Chancellor Helmut Kohl and President Jacques Chirac face a tough task in keeping European monetary union on track. PHOTOGRAPH BY WINIFRED ROTHBERG.

Wife who killed husband walks free

Stuart Miller
A DEVOTED 75-year-old wife who killed her seriously ill husband shortly before the couple's golden wedding anniversary walked free from the High Court in Edinburgh yesterday.
Catherine Kerr was placed on probation for two years after she admitted the culpable homicide of her husband,

burden of nursing him had become too much for his wife, who was suffering from depression "bordering on insanity".
Her counsel, John Morris, said the court heard that Mr and Mrs Kerr, who had been married for 45 years and had two sons, had been a "devoted and loving couple". But after Mr Kerr had suffered a massive heart attack and had chronic kidney failure, the

The franc fort heads for a fall

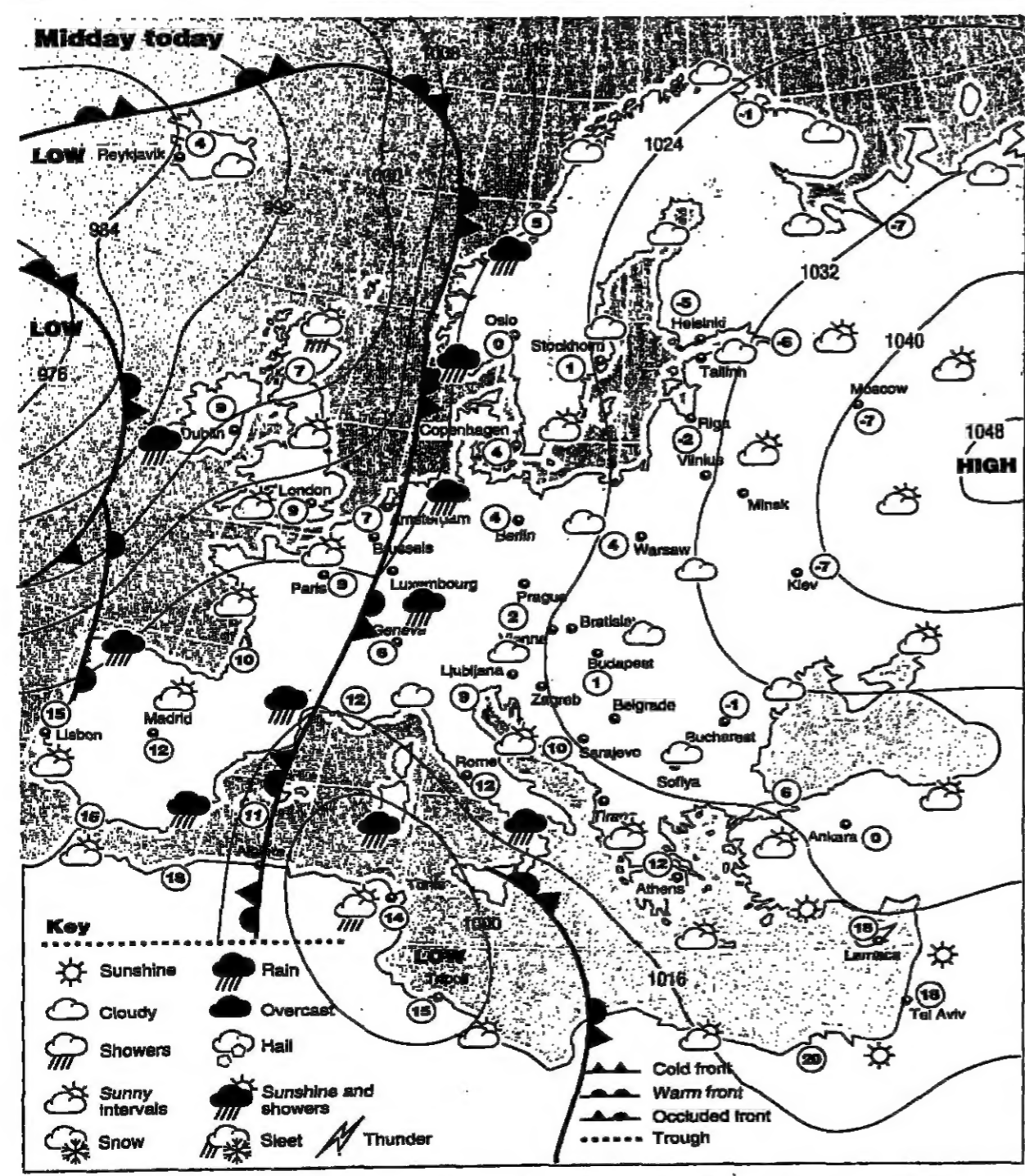
Larry Elliott
FOR students of devaluation, events in France are shaping up nicely for the coming year. The franc, for some time this summer, and with it all hopes of monetary union in 1999.
Pessimism about the chances of the franc emerging unscathed during the next few months has grown

recently as the size of the dilemma facing the Chirac administration has become more apparent.
The markets believe that President Jacques Chirac can either keep his pledge to cut unemployment or maintain France's determination to be part of the monetary union hard core — but not both.
As evidence, they point to France's unemployment rate of 11 per cent and rising, the

collapse in consumer confidence to a nine-year low that makes a mockery of the government's Panglossian growth forecasts, and the likes of the pre-Christmas strikes were merely a taste for the spring strike season.
For the time being, the franc is being supported by the weakness of the dollar, but this may bring only temporary relief.
The government will be

faced with a stark choice between continued recession and devaluation, says Simon Ericson at Nikko, the Japanese securities firm. He said: "We believe they will choose devaluation and delay the introduction of the single currency until the year 2002."
It would be wrong, however, to assume that the timetable for a single currency will be given up without a fight.

The weather in Europe



Forecast for the cities table with columns for city, weather, and temperature. Includes sections for 'Around the world' and 'European weather outlook'.

Television and radio - Saturday

Television and radio schedule for Saturday, listing programs and times for BBC 1, BBC 2, BBC Prime, and other channels.

Television and radio - Sunday

Television and radio schedule for Sunday, listing programs and times for BBC 1, BBC 2, BBC Prime, and other channels.

Handwritten text in a box at the bottom of the page, possibly a correction or note.

Russians close in on Chechens

James Meek in Sovetskoye, Dagestan

THERE was a hopeful break in the Russian hostage crisis yesterday when Chechen fighters holding more than 100 hostages in the captured village of Pervomayskaya released some of them. The rebels offered to free 17 hostages, but eight decided to stay with friends and relatives.

It was the first sign of progress in the stand-off between the rebels and a huge force of Russian troops determined not to let them cross from Dagestan into Chechnya with a single hostage.

More Russian army trucks and armoured personnel carriers moved towards the village yesterday, taking up position about half a mile from it. Russian officials continue to say that they will not give in and, in an ominous sign that they were preparing to attack the rebels, troops evacuated women and children from the village of Sovetskoye, about three miles from Pervomayskaya, seized on Wednesday.

Earlier, Dagestan officials acting as intermediaries said the rebel leader, Salman Raduyev, had offered to release all the hostages if he was given safe passage just across the border instead of to the separatist-held village of Novogrozny in the Caucasus foothills, as originally demanded. But they said the

Russians had rejected this idea. Another attempt to end the deadlock came in the Dagestani town of Khasavyurt, which has a large ethnic Chechen population. Local Chechens there raised two busloads of volunteers, both men and women, offering themselves in exchange for the hostages seized in the rebel raid on Kizlyar on Tuesday. Zaini Abiyev, editor of Khasavyurt's Chechen language newspaper, acknowledged that even if the Russians agreed to the idea, the rebels would not consider Chechen civilians a reliable human shield against a Russian military machine which has shown little restraint in the past. "I'm 100 per cent sure that if the hostages were Chechens, the federal authorities will utterly destroy them."

The picture becomes even more tangled since the word "Dagestan" itself is misleading. The people of Dagestan do not call themselves Dagestanis but describe themselves as members of one of the territory's 38-odd ethnic minorities.

The ethnic group caught in the middle of the crisis is Dagestan's largest, the Avars. Both Pervomayskaya and the village of Sovetskoye are Avar communities, created artificially in Soviet times.

The relationship between the Avars and their Chechen neighbours has always been close. Both are Muslim peoples and they fought side by side against the Russians in the 19th century.

But although the Avars despise Russian actions against Chechnya, they consider the Chechen leader Dzhokhar Dudayev a clownish bandit and Chechen pretensions to independence absurd. They are also incensed over the latest rebel raid.

Primakov asserts Russian power

David Hearst in Moscow

YEVGENY PRIMAKOV, the spy-master turned foreign minister, yesterday set out a tough list of priorities for Russia's foreign policy, designed to show that Russia still considered itself a world power.

He lost no time in spelling out his "negative attitude" to the central plank of American and European policy for Nato: the rapid expansion of the military alliance to include countries of eastern Europe formerly allied to the Soviet Union. Such a development was against Europe's interests and would be opposed by Russia, Mr Primakov stated.

The new foreign minister said at his first press conference: "Russia was and continues to be a great power," and hence demanded an "equal relationship" with Washington and the unimpeded right to protect its interests in the territory of the former Soviet Union and beyond.

Russia's main foreign policy aim was to preserve the territorial integrity of the Federation, and end what he called the "centrifugal" tendencies inside the Commonwealth of Independent States. Mr Primakov said: "The sovereignty of the [former] republics of the USSR is irreversible, but that does not mean that the re-integration tendencies in the sphere of the economy must not be developed."

He also said Russia would only ratify the Start 2 treaty to disarm strategic nuclear missiles, if Washington did not touch the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. The linkage between Start 2 and ABM has been hinted at by President Boris Yeltsin, but never before so expressly stated.

Republican senators in the US Congress have been campaigning to scrap the ABM Treaty, to allow the US to deploy a multi-site missile defence system.

Mr Primakov's statement on ABM differed in important respects from the US state department's interpretation of a conversation on Thursday between the US secretary of state, Warren Christopher, and Mr Primakov. Mr Primakov was reported as telling the US secretary of state, Warren Christopher, that Russia's parliament would ratify the treaty once the US Senate had done so.

Mr Primakov is due to meet Mr Christopher in February, at a venue yet to be determined. For Washington he will be more difficult to deal with than his predecessor, Andrei Kosyrev, who took office declaring that Russia's central mission was to re-enter the "civilised" world. By the same token, Mr Primakov will be more representative of feeling in Russia and in a more nationalist Duma.

Alex Duval Smith in Paris reports on the former president's meticulous preparations for his death

Mitterrand 'chose his final day'

HE DID not know the hour of his impending death. But François Mitterrand did know the day it would come. He planned it meticulously.

According to revelations yesterday, the late French president, who died on Monday from prostate cancer, asked his doctor last Saturday how long he would live if he ceased taking medication.

Told he would survive a maximum of three days, the 79-year-old former president reportedly disconnected his drip the same day and refused all drugs except painkillers.

According to today's Le Monde, he then asked for the curtains to be drawn in his Paris study and telephoned his executor, media magnate André Rousselet.

Mitterrand shunned a typewriter or word processor in favour of an old-fashioned fountain pen. In blue ink on three sheets of writing paper, he detailed instructions for his funeral, which took place in his birthplace, Jarnac, on Thursday.

There would be no speeches and no wreaths, just one bouquet of roses and another of yellow and purple irises. And so it was.

Mitterrand, an agnostic fascinated by death and religion who read and wrote prodigiously, worked on his memoirs until the very end, his editor told the daily France-Soir.

"He worked on it until his last day alive, and he completed the task," the unnamed editor at the Odile Jacob publishing

house was quoted as saying. Odile Jacob has declined all official comment on the memoirs.

Mitterrand wanted to work on the project even on the morning of his death, but he did not feel well enough to do so and went

back to sleep, France-Soir said, citing unnamed associates. He never woke up. Yesterday Roland Dumas, a former foreign minister and close friend revealed that a few days before Mitterrand's death, the agnostic ex-president said "now I have my philosophy."

Mr Dumas announced that a research foundation bearing Mitterrand's name would be set up shortly.

In a statement yesterday, Mitterrand's widow, Danielle, thanked the nation for its tributes which she said had touched her

A few days before François Mitterrand's death, the agnostic former president said: 'Now I have my philosophy'

deeply. "I would like to thank everyone who showed their affection for my husband." Yesterday several French municipalities announced that they would rename streets and squares after the late president. The Socialist mayor of Is-

sondun, in central France, said he intended to name a street, a park and a square after the Socialist president.

He said: "The locations represent a link between culture and nature. This corresponds perfectly to Mitterrand's personality."

Mitterrand was reported to have become increasingly weak after spending Christmas by the Nile.

According to Le Monde, on December 23 he told a doctor travelling with him that "in one month I won't be here. I know that you cannot help me any more."



Mitterrand: refused all drugs except painkillers



for a fall



Arresting... A Ukrainian nationalist at a Kiev rally is bundled into a police van clutching a poster demanding the resignation of the defence minister over Ukraine's nuclear disarmament policy

Dirty war dogs Spanish poll

Adela Gooch in Madrid

IT HAS taken 10 years for the skeletons of a "dirty war" fought against the Basque separatist group ETA in the mid 1980s to emerge. Now, after proving the key factor which forced the prime minister, Felipe González, to call an early election, they have become the issue most likely to make him lose it.

The scenario feared by Spain's Socialists in the run-up to polling day on March 3 is about to come true as the supreme court prepares to charge one of Mr González's close associates in connection with the self-proclaimed anti-terrorist liberation groups, GAL, responsible for 27 murders of suspected ETA activists between 1983 and 1987.

The trial of José Barrionuevo, interior minister at the time, will coincide with the campaign, dragging the Socialists down and potentially catapulting the conservative opposition Popular Party to an electoral victory.

But the PP, the main beneficiary of a campaign by press and judiciary to investigate the GAL affair and its surrounding web of financial corruption, needs more than a narrow win if it is to form a stable government.

The results of local and regional elections last year showed that after 13 years of Socialist rule, voters are shifting towards the conservatives. The Socialist vote rests on groups such as the elderly and rural jobless who fear erosion of their state benefits.

But the PP, which can count on traditional conservatives, must persuade the young and voters in the centre that José María Aznar, a sober tax inspector, best represents their interests.

"I have no doubt that our time has come," said the PP leader preparing his third bid for office. Confident that the Socialists are now seen as a

reactionary establishment devoid of new ideas and soft on corruption, he is wooing the young with measures such as a pledge to cut military services from nine months to six.

But his economic policies make him vulnerable to attacks from Mr González, who won the last election against the odds by claiming the PP would cut pensions.

Mr Aznar has qualified a pledge to reduce the top tax rate from 54 to 40 per cent saying his priority will be to cut the deficit to meet the criteria for European monetary union.

Economic analysts doubt his claim to be able to cut the deficit, by 3 per cent over the next three years, without making inroads into Spain's fledgling welfare state.

The confrontations in France have prompted Mr Aznar to announce that in office he would form a pact with the unions and employers.

The Socialists claim Mr Aznar's victory of the future is too pessimistic and have devised a defiant campaign slogan: "the positive view".

With regard to the GAL affair, though, their defiance may have gone too far for the public to stomach. Last November, Mr González suffered a crushing blow when parliament stripped Mr Barrionuevo of his immunity. Yesterday the supreme court set bail of 15 million pesetas (\$30,000) and withdrew Mr Barrionuevo's passport as a prelude to prosecution on charges that he knew about the kidnaping of a French businessman.

Nevertheless, Mr González is determined to give his close friend a prominent place on the parliamentary candidate lists. "I believe in José Barrionuevo's innocence," he said yesterday. "I will back our solidarity in support of him."

According to a recent poll, however, 70 per cent of his countrymen consider it a disgrace that Mr Barrionuevo should be on the Socialist party lists.

World news in brief

Portugal heads for 'majority dictatorship'

A LEFTWING Socialist who made a remarkable comeback from electoral humiliation is the favourite to win tomorrow's presidential election in Portugal. Jorge Sampaio, a 56-year-old lawyer with a reputation as his country's political "Mr Nice Guy", has led in the opinion polls from the start, writes John Hooper.

Breaking in for freedom

FIVE East Timorese broke into the New Zealand embassy in Jakarta, Indonesia, yesterday by scaling the perimeter fence, and another 10 were arrested trying to break into the Japanese embassy.

Causescu's hoard

THE parliamentary inquiry into the Romanian revolution has been given evidence by a former prime minister, Theodor Stolojan, confirming allegations that the late dictator Nicolae Ceausescu siphoned away more than \$500 million before his overthrow and execution in 1989, the evening newspaper Evenimentul Zilei reported. — Reuter.

Bobbing back

JACQUES-YVES Cousteau's research ship Calypso, which sank in Singapore waters earlier this week, could be refloated as early as next week, the ship's agents said yesterday. — AP.

No Japanese poll

THE new Japanese prime minister, Ryutaro Hashimoto, rejected opposition and press calls for a general election which greeted his first full day in office yesterday, saying that the country could not afford a break in government policies. — Reuter.

Master forger dies

THE English master forger Eric Hebborn has died in Rome from heart injuries. Hospital officials said Hebborn, aged 61, who claimed to have painted in many of the world's leading galleries, was found lying in the street in the Trastevere district on Wednesday. — Reuter. Obituary, page 26

Crime syndicate 'froze tons of dolphin heads'

POLICE in Taiwan have found six tons of dolphin heads in a freezer and suspect that a huge crime syndicate may have smuggled and killed them.

Crimes in Taiwan

POLICE in Taiwan have found six tons of dolphin heads in a freezer and suspect that a huge crime syndicate may have smuggled and killed them.

Bomb surprise

ABOUT 600 masked and heavily armed members of the "historic wing" of the Front for the National Liberation of Corsica mounted a show of force in

More snow

A fresh storm is approaching the eastern seaboard of the United States, still recovering from the worst storm in decades, which left up to 30 inches of snow in some cities. — Reuter.

Queasy riders

Bus drivers in Oslo, Norway, have asked horse riders to change their clothes before leaving the stables to spare the nostrils of other passengers. "Manure and the smell of horses stick to the seats, and our buses are brand new," Henry Gaasrud, of the NBS bus company, told the newspaper Verdens Gang. — AP.

Sinutab
Cures nasal and sinus congestion
Relieves headaches and pain

Painful blocked sinuses?
Let double action Sinutab lend a hand.
Pressure from blocked sinuses can cause severe pain and headaches. Specially formulated Sinutab with its double action acts quickly to relieve the pain and ease the congestion. What's more, Sinutab Nighttime will also aid restful sleep.

Spy scandal fuels calls for purge

DAVID BERESFORD in Johannesburg on the need to reopen old wounds and (below) on an inspired choice of head for the new Truth Commission

WHEN photographs in the South African press last month showed the police chief leering at the camera from what appeared to be an electric chair, it was an occasion to recall the lesson from John 8:33: "The truth shall make you free." It was not San Quentin's "Old Sparky" that had Commissioner George Fivas in its coils, but a lie-detector.

The scene was staged by Mr Fivas, not to clear himself of any allegation of wrongdoing, but to smooth the way for other force commanders of more dubious reputation to be subjected to trial by electronic ordeal.

But nothing more has been heard or seen of the great purge by polygraph. The police public relations department this week said force commanders were re-assessing the financial costs.

Yet, it might be said that strapping security chiefs to electrodes is not only expensive, but redundant, since the day of the great lie-detector test is at hand. The long-awaited Truth Commission inquiring into atrocities and conspiracies of the apartheid era is to start its investigations at the end of this month.

The advent of the truth-telling exercise is drawing mixed feelings. It will not, as the genocide trials in Rwanda and former Yugoslavia are intended to do, satisfy the thirst for retribution among victims. Evidence to the commission (to the degree it is heard in public, which is discretionary) will not be incriminatory, even in cases where con-

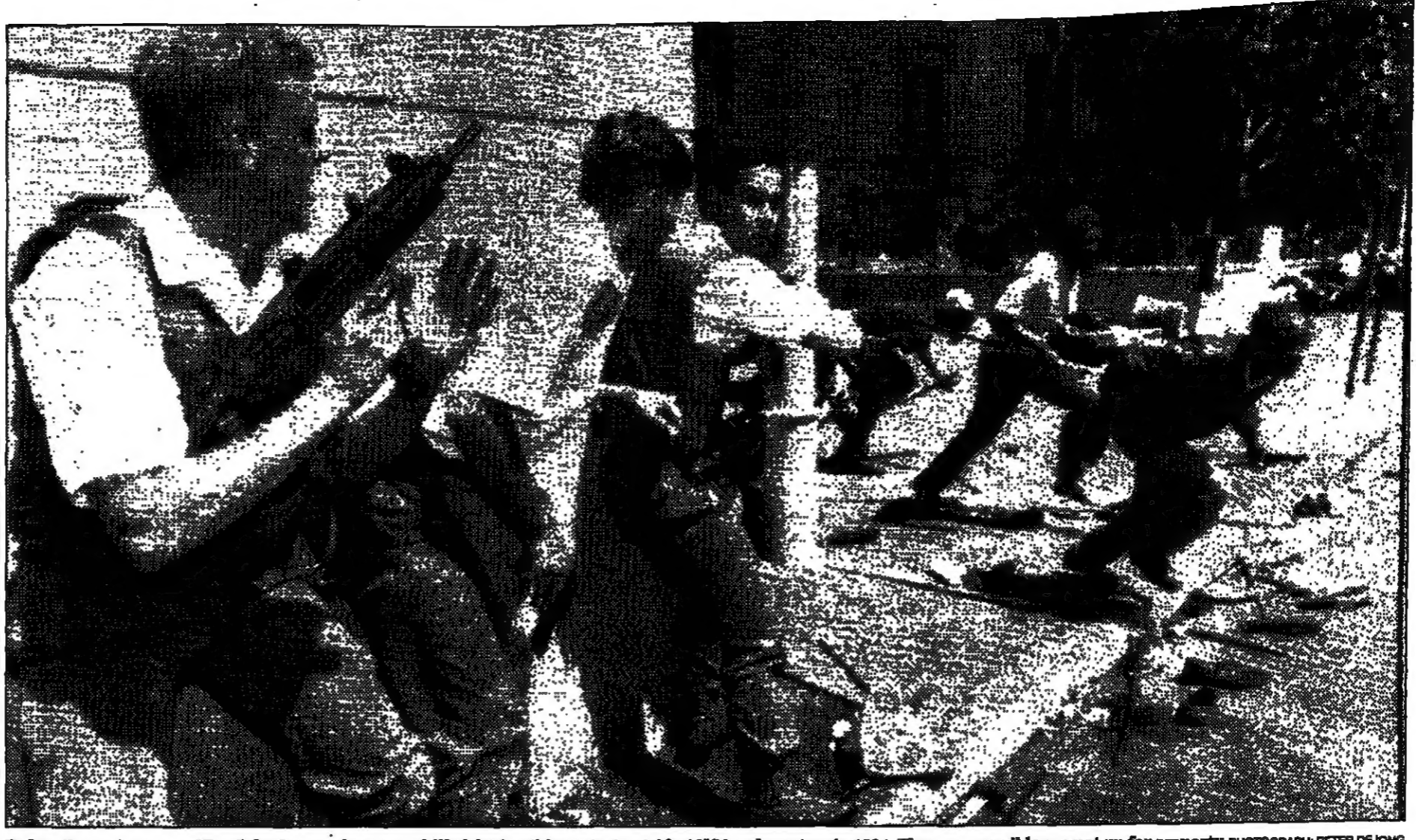
fessed crimes are judged too dastardly to merit amnesty. This has led to passionate denunciations of the exercise by Nisiki Biko, the widow of Steve Biko, the murdered Black Consciousness leader, and Churchill Mxenge, the brother of Griffiths Mxenge, a solicitor also murdered by the security forces. They have formed a lobby group, the Association of Victims of Unsolaced Apartheid Atrocities, threatening constitutional litigation to stop it.

Even civil rights lawyers who have devoted their careers to fighting the crimes of apartheid question what can be gained by re-opening wounds of the apartheid era. John Kane-Berman, head of the Institute of Race Relations, has dismissed the commission as a "Roman circus for the political classes".

But a new spy scandal offers fresh ammunition to those who believe the Truth Commission has a critical role to play in liberating the country from its past.

The scandal developed last week when the country's largest newspaper group, Independent Newspapers — owned by the Irish Tony O'Reilly — claimed to have uncovered evidence that the National Intelligence Agency (NIA) was spying on police commanders.

The reports quoted Mr Fivas as confirming that several of his senior commanders had complained they were under surveillance by mysterious agents, with at least two officials having evidence that their telephones were being tapped. He also "confirmed" that a member of the NIA,



Before the massacre... Nine Inkatha members were killed during this protest outside ANC headquarters in 1994. Those responsible are not up for amnesty PHOTOGRAPH: PETER DEJONG

Dirk Coetzee, had confessed to one of his officers that he had been given instructions to place the police commanders under surveillance.

The allegations resulted in a predictable storm. The head of the NIA issued furious denials; the deputy president, Thabo Mbeki, announced a presidential commission to investigate the claims; and a parliamentary oversight committee demanded full reports from the intelligence chief.

Superficially, the scandal seemed a case of an intelligence agency exceeding its mandate. But there are grounds for suspecting a more complex story lies behind it.

The former captain Coetzee is famous as the man who blew the "hit squad scandal"

in the 1980s, disclosing the existence of government-sanctioned assassination units among the police. The disclosures led to the "Third Force scandal", revealing a conspiracy to wreck the constitutional settlement.

Capt Coetzee, who joined the African National Congress after his confessions and was recruited to the NIA, has been the target of efforts by his former police colleagues to exact retribution. He has survived at least two assassination attempts and smear tactics.

Is the latest spy scandal another such attempt to smear Capt Coetzee? He is alleged to have made the admission of spying on the police (which he denies) while being questioned about his responsi-

bility for the Mxenge murder. The investigating officer who questioned him is a former security policeman acting on the orders of Major General Karel "Sulzer" Brits.

The general, who now heads the National Priority Crimes unit, is former commander of the notorious murder and robbery squads — units with tangential involvement in hit squad activities. Gen Brits has a spectacularly poor record in solving political crimes. One such crime he investigated and failed to solve was an attempt to assassinate Capt Coetzee.

Or is the NIA spying on the police? Certainly, the force has become so corrupt through the apartheid years — not only politically, but through involvement with

criminal syndicates — that the NIA would be justified in treating it as a potential threat to national security.

Whatever the truth, the continued presence of the "Old Guard" in the security forces is an albatross around the neck of South Africa's brave new society. The need for liberation from it is widely recognised — hence the project of polygraph-testing police commanders.

The Truth Commission has another contribution to make — not just in setting the historical record straight. The political carnage in KwaZulu appears to be a direct legacy of conspiracies hatched in the 1980s, whose exposure — notably the role of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelesi — could contribute much to the

resolution of the regional conflict.

The ANC side also has a contribution to make in cleansing the Augean stables, with regard to the fitness for office of key government officials. This is particularly true of atrocities committed against dissidents within the liberation movement during the years of exile.

The director general of the NIA, Szezekle Sigxhashe, headed a "tribunal" that had at least seven ANC members put to death after the Pongolo camp revolt in Angola, in 1984. Another senior member of the spy agency, Mthunzi Mthembu, was commander of the Quatro detention camp in Angola, where torture and "disappearances" appear to have been routine.

The success of the Truth Commission will obviously turn on its ability to elicit information. The last apartheid government carried out a massive purge of official security documentation before handing over.

F. W. de Klerk's predecessor, P. W. Botha, refuses to co-operate with him. The former police minister, Adriaan Vlok, has said he will testify. There are indications that the key former defence minister, Magnus Malan, panicked by evidence piling up in the murder prosecution against him and 10 former generals, may run to the commission to save himself from possible imprisonment. It all augurs well for a 20th-century demonstration of the liberatory effects of the truth.

Man of faith leads quest to know

ONE problem facing the South African government in setting up the Truth Commission was that those best qualified by virtue of their commitment to democratic and libertarian principle had been victims of the security forces: the commission would investigate.

The man responsible for setting up the commission, the justice minister, Dullah Omar, was one such target. A gangster was once hired by the apartheid government to replace Mr Omar's heart tablets with poison.

A military assassination squad, the Civil Co-operation Bureau, tried to scare Archbishop Desmond Tutu off by planting a baboon's foetus at his front door. But he was an inspired, if obvious, choice as "Mr Truth" to chair the commission.

During apartheid, the archbishop was seen by critics — mistakenly — as something of a chaplain-general to the African National Congress. Since majority rule, the Nobel prizewinner has demonstrated his independence, fiercely criticising ANC politicians for riding the "gravy train".

A man of indubitable faith, he does not offer unquestioning service to the Almighty, much less Caesar. ("It is quite right to ask God, why," he assured survivors of the Christmas floods in KwaZulu-Natal.) These qualities make him very different from Richard Goldstone, the South African judge heading the Rwanda and former Yugoslavia genocide prosecutions, whose legalistic approach handicapped his efforts to uncover the "Third Force" conspiracy.

The other 16 commissioners appointed by President Mandela represent, if not the great, then at least a fair sample of the good in civil

society. They include psychologists and lawyers with human rights experience.

The commission will oversee three committees: one on "human rights violations", with the task of uncovering "the truth"; a second on amnesty; and a third investigating reparations.

The amnesty committee has probably the greatest potential for controversy, anticipated by the outside appointment (still to be made) of a judge as chairman.

Perpetrators of human rights violations between 1960 and December 5 1993 will be eligible for amnesty. This will exclude those responsible for

the motivation of the offender (political or personal), the target (civilian or government) and the gravity of the act. The Norgaard approach is tolerant of "due obedience", contrary to Nuremberg, where orders were deemed no excuse.

The government is sinking substantial resources into the commission, at a time of extreme financial stringency in the public purse. It will conduct regional hearings, have a staff of at least 150, and run for two years at an anticipated cost of 220 million.



Archbishop Desmond Tutu: 'fiercely independent'

It sounded gruesomely patronising on the face of it, not to say gross — a TV 'comedy' about Yorkshire miners setting up as male strippers, all posing pouches and giggles.

Martin Wainwright

Outlook page 15

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Rifkind steers path through new China

The Foreign Secretary has ended his first trip to Beijing, where rapid modernisation is coupled with an ideology of 'nationalism and order', Andrew Higgins reports

SO DIZZY and disorientating are the changes in Beijing that even the street-wise chauffeurs of China's foreign affairs ministry lose their way. A three-day visit to China this week by the Foreign Secretary, Malcolm Rifkind, ended with a cavalcade of limousines grinding to a halt in reverse — through the back streets of the Chinese capital.

The motorcade had gone to the wrong address. Instead of taking Mr Rifkind, the British ambassador and assorted Foreign Office mandarins to the Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office to discuss the final 18 months of British colonial rule, the cars pulled up outside a bureau responsible for Taiwan.

It is not just China's drivers who are confused. Everywhere in Beijing, evidence abounds of an extraordinary metamorphosis: glass and marble plazas sprouting along the Avenue of Eternal Peace, the world's biggest McDonalds just down Tiananmen Square; a floodlit golf driving range in what used to be a cabbage patch; and a new six-lane airport highway replacing a narrow strip of tarmac clogged with donkey carts.

Also brand new are the premises of the supreme court. And it was here, entirely untouched by any wind of change, that judges last month took 10 minutes to reject the appeal of an unemployed electrician called Wei Jingsheng against a 14-year sentence for subversion.

Mr Rifkind, making his first trip to China, struggled to keep his bearings. On the way from the airport, a Chinese authorities blew a tyre, a mishap that got the Foreign Secretary upgraded to a stretch Cadillac limo with mini-bar and television.

At a candle-lit banquet hosted by the British Chamber of Commerce, Mr Rifkind gushed about the marketing opportunities offered by China's double-digit growth: "When you're dealing with a country of 1.3 billion you don't need me to tell you the potential purchasing power of this nation." Britain has invested more than \$4 billion in China — far more than any other European country.

But he also promised to exert "clear, courteous and firm pressure" on human rights issues. In meetings with the prime minister, Li Peng, and President Jiang Zemin he asked after Mr Wei, the jailed champion of political reform as China's essential "first modernisation". He also voiced concern about conditions in China's orphanages, where thousands of children have died — according to Human Rights Watch — from neglect and abuse.

It is this coexistence of rapid reform and harsh reaction that makes the future of Hong Kong — the heart of Sino-British relations — so uncertain.

While assuring Mr Rifkind that it would grant Hong Kong a "high degree of autonomy" after 1997, China also stressed its determination to disband the territory's elected Legislative Council. "This case is closed," said the foreign ministry spokesman, Chen Jian. "The Chinese position will not change."

Nor did Beijing show any inclination to change its view of Governor Chris Patten, whom it has treated as an outcast since he set about reforming Hong Kong's political system three years ago.

Just before his meeting with President Jiang on Thursday, Mr Rifkind made an unscheduled stop in Tiananmen Square, scene of the 1989 student movement and now home to a giant digital clock counting down the seconds (more than 46 million) before China takes back Hong Kong. Noticeboards dotted across the gigantic expanse of paving stones warn visitors in English and Chinese to remain "solemn, silent and clean".

If China has any ideology these days it is this: nationalism and order. As a reminder of what disorder can mean, state-run television this week featured daily reports on the hostage seizure in southern Russia by Chechen rebels.

While Mr Rifkind made sure there were no television cameras in Tiananmen Square to record him watching the seconds tick away on Britain's last important colony, he made scant effort to disguise Britain's waning influence. Unlike previous ministers visiting Hong Kong and China, he made clear that the only real guarantee for the colony's future is China's self-interest.

"We cannot impose solutions upon them. I cannot suggest to you, nor would I wish to, that we have a physical power which is not available to us," he told Hong Kong legislators before travelling to Beijing. This, he said, was the "simple, unvarnished truth".

Despite China's refusal to budge on the legislative council or Mr Patten, the visit was, Mr Rifkind insisted, "positive". It clarified the right of foreigners to stay in Hong Kong after 1997, produced agreement on air services and opened the way for the colony to build a massive container terminal half the size of Rotterdam.

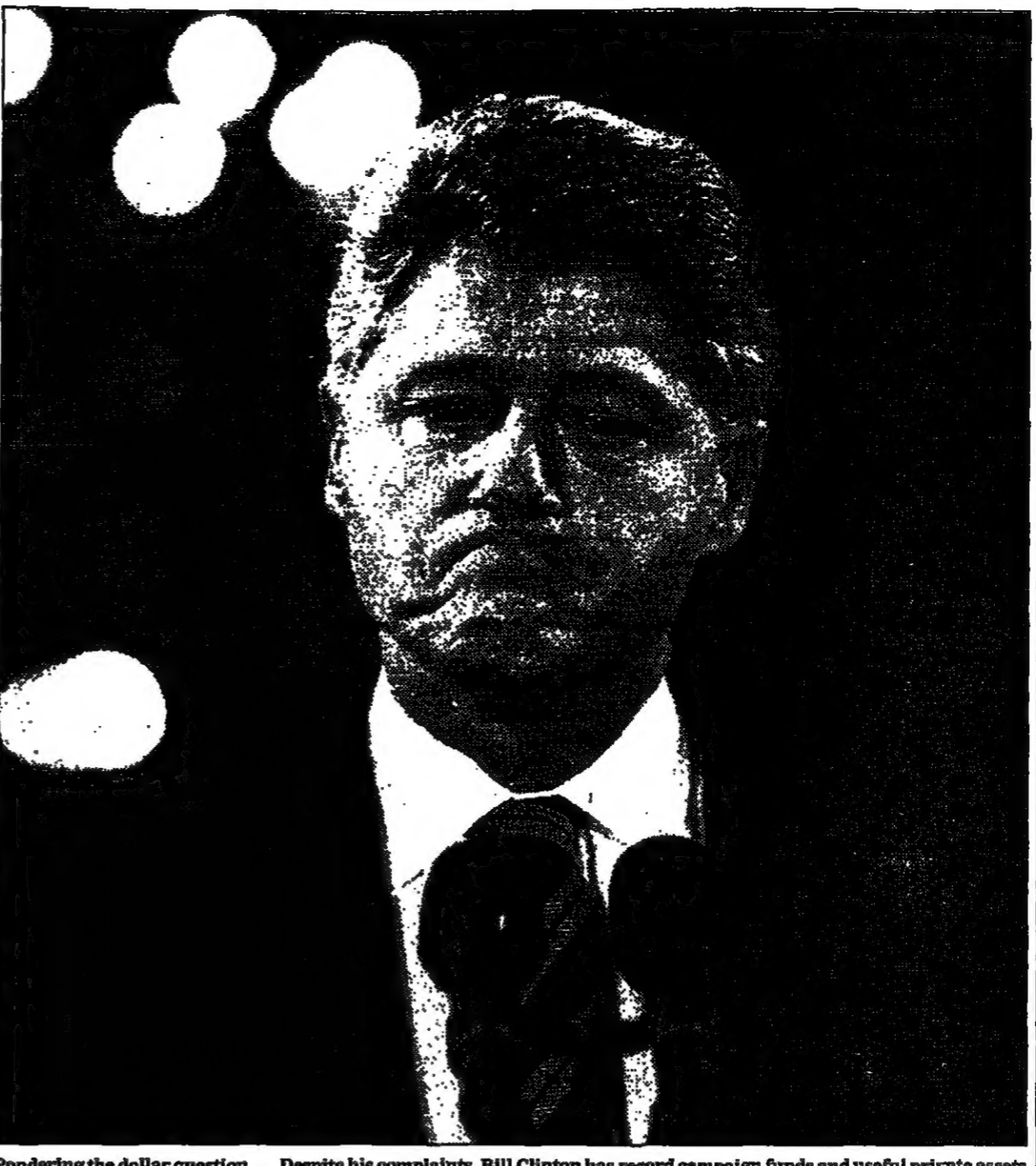
Britain and China also signed an agreement stipulating that only the Hong Kong government will be allowed to issue new passports after the colony returns to Chinese sovereignty.

But detailed discussion is still needed on some of these issues. Speaking of foreign residents' future rights, Mr Chen said: "This was an exchange of views between the two foreign ministers, not a concrete negotiation."

On the development of the port, Mr Chen referred to Beijing's "positive" attitude, adding: "We will try our best to promote this process." But there was not yet a formal agreement, he indicated.

Unburdened by diplomatic protocol, Mr Patten put things more bluntly in Hong Kong: "The question is this: Is China committed to real democratisation or is it committed to a sort of cardboard cut-out version? Is it committed to a counterfeited version?" China itself may not yet know.

Martin Woolcott, page 14



Pondering the dollar question... Despite his complaints, Bill Clinton has record campaign funds and useful private assets

Clinton can still meet the bill

Martin Walker in Washington

Bill and Hillary Clinton are not officially bankrupt, nor are they ever likely to be, whatever the scale of the legal bills they face as they fight the Whitewater scandal and despite the president's public complaint of financial pressure this week.

Although the president's Legal Expense Trust has raised only \$865,000 so far, against legal fees estimated at \$2 million (£1.25 million) a year, the Clintons' personal lawyer David Kendall says the full bill will not be presented until the case is over.

In the past, all private presidential legal bills have been negotiated down to the precise figure raised by the legal defence fund.

The president's official income is modest by American standards — \$200,000 a year. But opportunities lie ahead. Publishing circles, on the basis of the \$6 million paid for General Colin Powell's memoirs, reckon that the Clintons can each expect up to \$5 million in book contracts. And once they leave the White House they will be free of the legal restrictions which prevent their defence fund soliciting trade unions, corporations, party funds and the like.

Moreover the Clintons have their private nest egg, growing apace. Their savings were reported in 1992 to total \$62,000 in mutual funds, stocks and shares, retirement accounts and federal and state government savings bonds.

When they entered the White House those savings were put into a blind trust, and they could now be worth close to \$1.5 million. Against this they owed \$64,800 on the mortgage on the apartment left to them when Hillary Clinton's father died.

Just before that bequest, noting that the Clintons owned no home at all, a local Arkansas resident gave them a run-down two-bedroom house opposite Clinton's boyhood home in Little Rock. Legally valued at \$12,242, it has a leaking roof and local estate agents scoffingly call it a "handyman's special". But at least there is a home to go to.

Lobbies fill contenders' cups

Martin Walker in Washington

WALL STREET, the gun lobby and the Californian wine industry provide the biggest financial backers of the main candidates in the 1996 presidential race.

Bill Clinton, the Democrat incumbent, has received more than \$107,000 from the Goldman Sachs finance house alone.

Senator Robert Dole, one of the main contenders for the Republican nomination, has received \$40,000 from the National Rifle Association, the main arm of the gun lobby, and another \$10,000 from the American Medical Association, in gratitude for his role in defeating the Clinton health reform plan.

The relationship between Senator Dole and the Gallo family began when he lobbied the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms to let them change the wording of the labels on their cheaper bottles from "bulk process" to "secondary fermentation before bottling".

The Gallo family gratitude to Mr Dole was reinforced in 1986 when he steered through a tax amendment which saved the family an estimated \$100 million in inheritance taxes. But just as political insurance, the family has also given \$50,000 to the Clinton re-election campaign.

The figures come from a new survey by the Centre for Public Integrity, published in book form yesterday as *The Buying of the President*.

"It's a package deal between politicians and their backers. You are getting their patrons when you elect them," said Charles Lewis, director of the centre and author of the book. "To be perfectly blunt, it gives the impression that legislation is being bought and sold."

More than \$100 million has already been raised for this year's presidential race by the various candidates, led by President Clinton, whose \$26 million is the largest amount ever raised by an incumbent president this early in the campaigning season.

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sheriff and school board up to the White House — are now a national industry with a turnover of \$3 billion in every two-year election cycle.

The donation gap between the Big Three — Clinton, Dole and Gramm — and the Republican also-rans is wide. The highest donation to the former Tennessee governor Lamar Alexander was \$63,000 from a home town property company.

The largest donation to the rightwing firebrand Pat Buchanan was \$10,000 from a Nebraska theme park family, and Senator Richard Lugar's most generous backers were the Eli Lilly pharmaceutical company, based in his home state Indiana.

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Families fear delay in demands for ransom

John Aglionby in Jakarta

SOME of the most impenetrable jungle in the world may be the scene before any ransom demand is received for the 24 wildlife researchers, including four Britons, kidnapped on Monday in Irian Jaya, the Indonesian half of the island of New Guinea.

The Free Papua Movement (OPM), which campaigns for Irian Jaya's independence, yesterday admitted it was responsible.

Several hundred troops are believed to be hunting for the kidnapers, thought to number between 30 and 60 and to be only lightly armed.

Andy Bayuni, an Indonesian journalist with wide knowledge of the area, said: "If the pro-independence rebels want to reach Papua New Guinea (the country which occupies the other half of the island) before making any demands, we may be in for a long wait. It is several hundred kilometres to the Papuan border from where the victims were seized."

The dense jungle, mountains and poor roads mean the rebels could take many days to reach the border. The Indonesian army says its priority is to stop them crossing it.

The four Britons are Cambridge University graduates on an expedition organised by the university. They have been named as Bill Oates, aged 22, and Daniel Start, Anna McIvor and Annette van der Kolk, all 21.

The British Petroleum Conservation Programme, British Airways, Guinness and the Winston Churchill Memorial Trust are among the expedition's sponsors.

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Portrait of

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by Francisco de GOYA

The police poster appealing for the painting's return



Sir Philip Hendy: 'Bunton did not steal the picture'



Kempton Bunton: jailed, but another man confessed



It was the Mirror wot done it



The Goya portrait of the Duke of Wellington, stolen from the National Gallery weeks after it was bought for the nation

Files reveal innocent man was jailed for stealing Goya painting from the National Gallery in 1961

Peter Lennon and Edward Pilkington

DOCUMENTS released this month by the National Gallery under the 30 years rule have confirmed that a man was wrongly jailed in 1961 for the theft of a Goya painting, even though the authorities suspected he was innocent.

for £140,000 by an American oil magnate who threatened to take it out of the country. After a mass appeal the National Gallery purchased it from him for the same amount, with money donated by a charity and the Macmillan government.

would mean establishing the principle "that any adventurous person had only to remove a picture from our walls to be able successfully to demand that money be given to a charity of his nomination".

with stealing the painting as the law then said a person could only be convicted of theft if the stolen object was never recovered. The loophole was closed in the 1968 Theft Act which made stealing art works an exhibition — whether or not they were retrieved — an offence.

In a peculiar twist, the police admitted in 1993 that they believed Mr Bunton had harboured qualms about his guilt all along.

concession was made after another man confessed to the crime. However, no move was made to clear the name of Mr Bunton, who has since died.

Ulster's land of myth

David Sharrock on a new airbrushed view of IRA Bandit Country

IT IS not a map that a British Army squadie spending his third wet night in a ditch in "Bandit Country" would recognise, but judging from the beautiful hand-drawn chart inside a new tourist brochure, South Armagh is shaking off its IRA-heartland image.

topography and folksy sketch maps, it invokes a landscape and people steeped in Celtic mythology, where the ugliness of the last 25 years has been airbrushed away.

thorn is the most difficult way of moving across country but in this part of the world it is the safest way to travel. By making our own holes we lessen the risk of running into a booby trap.

Army considers code on sexual harassment if gay ban is lifted

continued from page 1

ument marshals arguments for the ban, but says if it were overturned it could require costly compensation and reinstatement of personnel.

To umpire alongside Dickie Bird was to exist in his world of permanent crisis, but at his height many regarded it as a privilege. The former Indian Test umpire, Swarup Krishan, once told Bird: "I have often prayed about umpiring with you."

David Hopps page 9

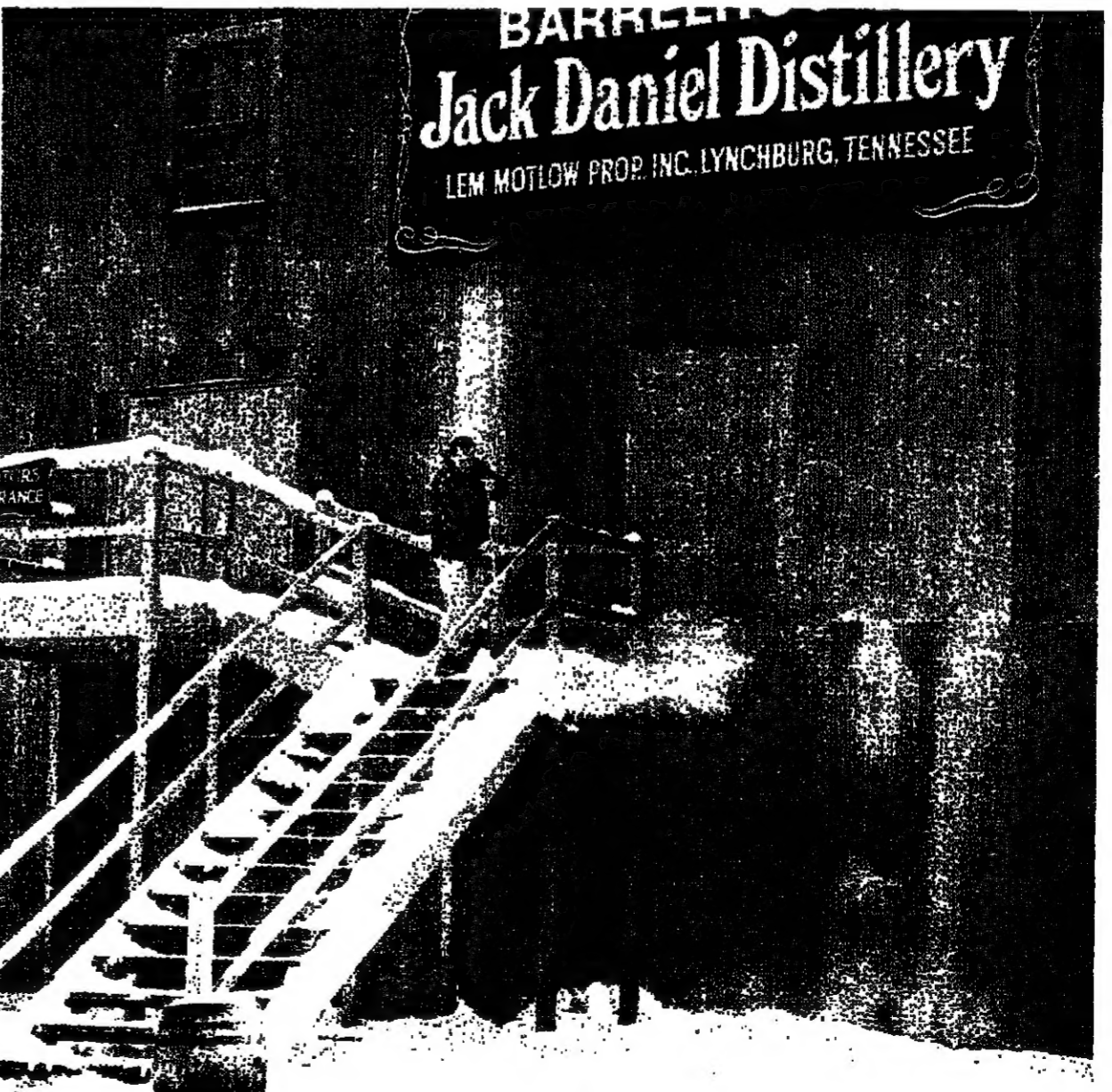
Siemens to pull out of road tolling

Nicholas Bannister and Keith Harper

SIEMENS, the German electrical engineering group, has pulled out of British electronic road tolling trials because it believes the Government has lost the political will to introduce a system.



came as Sir George Young, the Transport Secretary, announced that Britain's first privately operated road — between Newcastle upon Tyne and Carlisle — is to be run by a British-Italian consortium called Roadlink.



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سكيات الامم

In their own words: Newbury bypass campaigners explain why they are taking action

BILL McMahon, aged 54, and Mary O'Brien, 56, common-law husband and wife, who run a snackbar in Hove, East Sussex. "We had never gone on a protest at all until last year, then we saw what was happening in front of our noses..."



see the chainsaws. We admit we don't know much about the background, but we will soon find that out by asking people. Surely the Government can come up with some alternative..."

DANNY Bradley, aged 35, from Somerset, has been living in a treehouse on the bypass route since construction work began. His father used to be head lecturer at a college of further education.



"I don't think £101 million should be spent on a road which they say will ease pollution. Once the road is built, there'll be no trees left to take the pollution away..."

your means. There's a great spirit here. People help each other out. "I've been doing environmental stuff for about two to three years for Greenpeace. The chain of information for environmental activists is now so good in this country that you can virtually find out anything you want."

JILL Eisele, aged 44, from Newbury, is a teacher, married with two children. "I'm livid about it. The road won't work. We now have recognition among all spheres of politicians that building new roads does not solve problems..."



"Also, there has never been a proper transport debate - we only had one inquiry, in 1988. That's before Twyford Down happened, before the M25. At that time we were not allowed to talk about whether we could have a freight or rail link..."

Carta and the poll tax riots. "When the Government is acting against its responsibilities you have to rise up against it. It's civil disobedience. I'm sorry that the police have been politically pushed to becoming partisan. "I have always been a Tory voter but I would not vote for them any more."

SARAH North, aged 26, is studying for an MSc in conservation at University College, London. "I've been following Newbury in the national press and felt motivated enough to get involved. It's the first time I have been moved enough to go to a protest..."



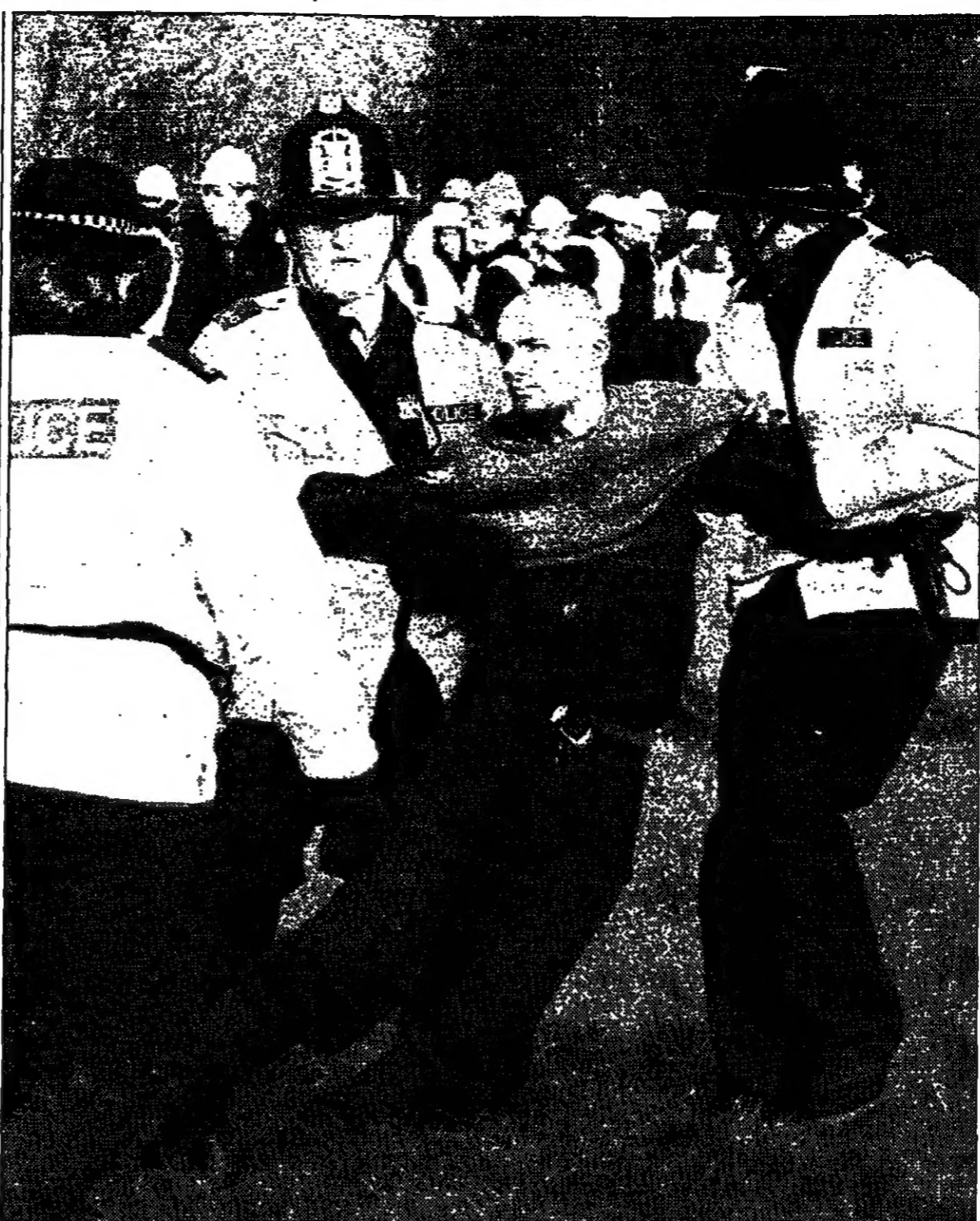
"I think the road is unnecessary. Alternatives to the traffic problems here have not been considered properly. I think the public in Newbury would be sympathetic to alternative schemes. They are being presented with the false choice: bypass or nothing..."

and we are staying on local people's land. "I think me and my friends will be coming up for a few days every week for the foreseeable future. I also think we will try and do a UCL survey to find out what local people's attitudes are to alternatives to the bypass."

"BOB", not his real name, is a 15-year-old schoolboy from a village near Warwick. His father is a builder. "I got down here on Thursday on my own. It's the first demonstration I have been on. I did it just to get away. It seemed like somewhere to go..."



"I was seeing Newbury on the telly and in the papers all the time. My entire school thinks they are destroying it. "It's amazing here. It's so friendly. At home, people like me get the wind out of them just for what you look like. My mum will probably send somebody after me and then I will probably go back." Interviews: Alex Bellis



A protester is dragged away as contractors try to get to work on the fourth day of the protest. PHOTOGRAPH: MARTYN HAYHORN

Arrests as police step up response at bypass site

Alex Bellis POLICE flexed their muscles yesterday in the battle over the Newbury bypass, arresting dozens of anti-road protesters under the Criminal Justice Act and sparking a fight over civil rights as well as the environment.

The protesters were outwitted during the morning by fast-moving "hit-and-run chainsaw crews" which reached two unoccupied areas on the nine-mile bypass route and started felling trees. When protesters reached the sites, they were warned by senior police officers that they may be committing aggravated trespass.

The contractors were prevented from felling more trees at one site by people climbing them. But at the other site, a mile away, they cleared about 100 metres of trees along an old railway line. There were scuffles at both places.

Thames Valley police said there were 16 arrests at the first site and 16 at the second. Last night nine people had been taken to Basingstoke police station and 25 were in custody at Newbury.

The spokesman said most of the arrests were for alleged aggravated trespass - the criminal version of the civil offence of trespass - introduced last year in the Criminal Justice Act.

Pressure had been mounting on police to change their tactics after protesters stopped the first three days of construction work on the £100 million bypass. Keith Lock, Liberal Democrat leader of Newbury council, had called the project a shambles.

Simon Festing, of Friends of the Earth, said: "The police don't want to take sides but they are being politically leaned on. John Watts, the roads minister, was on the radio this morning saying the protesters were a bunch of anarchists and that the police should intervene more. That is what they appear to have done."

"The protesters were totally peaceful. It was the police who got stuck in."

The police denied that their strategy had changed, despite the large number of arrests, and insisted they were still bipartisan.

Appeal 'knocks hole in law to outlaw protest'

OWEN Bowcott WIDE-RANGING police powers, introduced by the Criminal Justice Act to outlaw selected public protests, may prove to be unenforceable following an appeal over rights of way near Stonehenge.

The Crown Prosecution Service is expected to pursue the case against Margaret Jones and Richard Lloyd in order to uphold the offence of "trespassory assembly".

The powers were drafted by the Home Secretary, Michael Howard, to bolster the police in confrontations with hunt saboteurs, new age travellers and demonstrators.

Dr Jones, aged 46, a lecturer at the University of the West of England, and Mr Lloyd, aged 25, a student, were arrested on a footpath outside Stonehenge on June 1 last year while a police-enforced four-mile exclusion order was in operation.

They were the first people to be convicted under section 70 of the act, which deems 20 or more people gathering on a public highway in an exclusion zone to be guilty of trespassory assembly.

But this month their conviction was overturned on appeal at Salisbury crown court. Kier Starmer, counsel for the two, basing his arguments on a 19th century row over grouse moors, argued that since they were standing on a footpath they could not be deemed to be trespassing even under the terms of the exclusion order.

How to get a winning hand in Brussels

Paul Brown, Environment Correspondent

TWO bruising decades of fighting Britain's corner in the European Union have prompted Whitehall to issue Brussels-bound civil servants with a detailed guide to survival - Sir Humphrey's tips for coping on the Continent, so to speak. The guide - written, as it happens, by a British Eurocrat called James Humphreys - warns of "thieves and brigands who lurk in the dark of the forest". It advises negotiators to keep a poker face and never to deal from the bottom of the pack - "they would take it personally".

legislation unless we examine critically our own part in the decision-making process. Most of the book is devoted to unravelling jargon, explaining what European institutions are responsible for which tasks, who to circulate with reports, and how to get the UK's position across and win the arguments. Advice is given on negotiations, which should be played as in a game of cards. "Keep a poker face. Negotiations have a natural, unspoken balance, and the search for compromise is supposed to avoid winners and losers. "If a point made and secured by another delegation helps the UK, don't show this in a meeting by smiling or thanking that delegation; better to pocket the advantage without comment of any sort and continue to pursue other UK points. Others will assume the UK still needs to be 'given' something to balance the deal. "And in general: "Never deal from the bottom of the pack. "Negotiations provide opportunities for double-dealing and other tricks, but beware. If you deliberately mislead another delegation or renege on a deal, they would take it personally and would do all in their power to take revenge on you and the UK as a whole. "At a time when Europhobia is prevalent in the Cabinet, Mr Humphreys' boss, the Environment Secretary, John Gummer, makes his own enthusiasm for the EU clear in the foreword. "Europe is not them; it is us. Perhaps this idea sums up how we should best approach the European Union: not as an alien body, but as part of our own administrative machinery... "The union is a shared endeavour. It has to be."

How to be Eurocrat wheeler-dealer

Negotiating: "You may be able to use brilliant oratory and negotiating skills to win over converts or reduce opposition. But if this is not enough, you will come down to horse trading..."

Confidentiality: "Brussels has formalists (ministers' meetings away from Brussels where they can bring wives or partners); "Despite agreeable locations and the impression given by certain photographs circulating in the department, real work is done."



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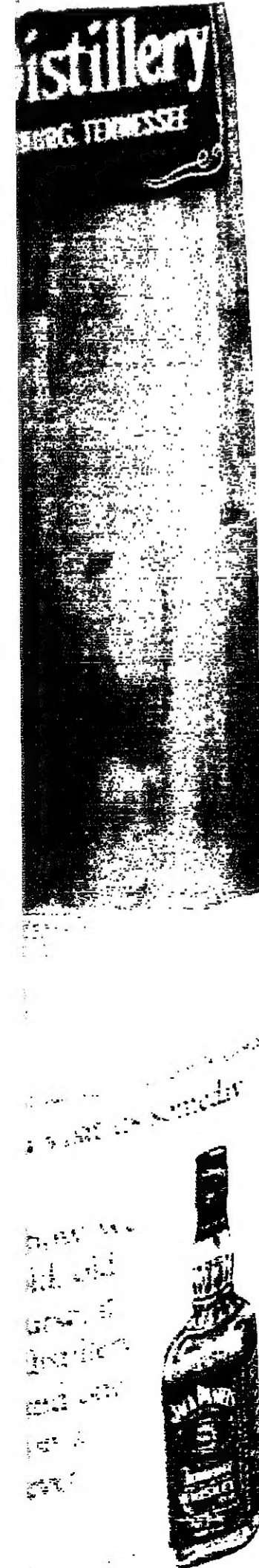
Table with flight destinations and prices: PALMA per person from £115, AMSTERDAM per person from £79, FRANKFURT per person from £99, ZURICH per person from £119, BELFAST per person from £54, BERGEN per person from £169, BRUSSELS per person from £65, DUBLIN per person from £58, NICE per person from £95, EDINBURGH per person from £57, GLASGOW per person from £57, PRAGUE per person from £135.

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Racing

Street can be in front at right time

Ron Cox thinks fast Ascot pace will prove deciding factor for Sherwood's gelding

FINDING the winner of today's Victor Chandler Handicap Chase at Ascot will not be easy, but one thing is certain. The pace will be hot. Martin's Lamp, Gales Cavalier and Kibreet all like to go off in front...

Backers face an even stiffer examination at Leopardstown when attempting to negotiate the nine-furlong race that is The Ladbrokes. This competitive handicap hurdle lures fancied British raiders every year...



Re-match... Martin's Lamp, about to be overhauled by Front Street at Ascot, takes on the winner again in today's Victor Chandler Chase

Strong stakes Arkle claim

DAVID NICHOLSON, the champion jockey, and his stable jockey Adrian Maguire, landed a double at Ascot yesterday with Certainly Strong and Percy Smollett. Certainly Strong, owned by Nick Skelton, the top show jump rider...

Ascot card with guide to the form

Table of race results for Ascot, including race numbers, names of horses, jockeys, and trainers. Includes sections for 1.00, 1.30, 2.10, 2.45, 3.15, 3.45, 4.15, 4.45, 5.15, 5.45, 6.15, 6.45, 7.15, 7.45, 8.15, 8.45, 9.15, 9.45.

Warwick with form for televised races

Table of race results for Warwick, including race numbers, names of horses, jockeys, and trainers. Includes sections for 1.00, 1.30, 2.00, 2.30, 3.00, 3.30, 4.00, 4.30, 5.00, 5.30, 6.00, 6.30, 7.00, 7.30, 8.00, 8.30, 9.00, 9.30.

Newcastle runners and riders

Table of race results for Newcastle, including race numbers, names of horses, jockeys, and trainers. Includes sections for 1.00, 1.30, 2.00, 2.30, 3.00, 3.30, 4.00, 4.30, 5.00, 5.30, 6.00, 6.30, 7.00, 7.30, 8.00, 8.30, 9.00, 9.30.

Leopardstown

Table of race results for Leopardstown, including race numbers, names of horses, jockeys, and trainers. Includes sections for 1.00, 1.30, 2.00, 2.30, 3.00, 3.30, 4.00, 4.30, 5.00, 5.30, 6.00, 6.30, 7.00, 7.30, 8.00, 8.30, 9.00, 9.30.

Channel 4

Table of race results for Channel 4, including race numbers, names of horses, jockeys, and trainers. Includes sections for 1.00, 1.30, 2.00, 2.30, 3.00, 3.30, 4.00, 4.30, 5.00, 5.30, 6.00, 6.30, 7.00, 7.30, 8.00, 8.30, 9.00, 9.30.

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Channel 4

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Handwritten text in Arabic script: 'صكنا من الامل'

Strong stakes Arkle claim

DAVID NICHOLSON, the champion jockey...



Bird in full flight... everyone's favourite Test match umpire from Barnsley to Bombay presents some of the faces and frolics that could reduce the most hot-tempered of fast bowlers to a kitten in his presence

Mother hen who proved that flapping could be fun

David Hopps pays tribute to the unique umpiring of Dickie Bird who will stand in a Test match for the last time at Lord's in June

DICKIE BIRD will umpire a farewell Test against India at Lord's in June...

Bird's popularity came from more than that. It was the recognition of his essential humanity...

To umpire alongside Bird was to exist in his world of sacramental crisis...

When his flap was at its height, an aged Scottish umpire hobbled up to him to give thanks...

criss-crossed his career. When the International Cricket Council inaugurated its post of neutral umpire...

or Frank Chester and state: "Doubt? When I'm umpiring there is never any doubt."

Glum Ramprakash still up for an England World Cup place

ENGLAND'S Mark Ramprakash will definitely play in one of this weekend's two international matches against South Africa...

Greg 'mentally unfit' Chappell comes clean over underarm ball

GREG CHAPPELL said yesterday that he was not right in the head when he ordered his captain Mark Taylor to bowl the notorious underarm delivery...

Table Tennis Syed homing in on Atlanta

Richard Jago in Manchester MATTHEW SYED and Melissa Lomas both won their groups and made winning starts to the second stage of the Olympic qualifying competition...

Sport in brief

Cricket The old firm of Desmond Haynes and Gordon Greenidge hit back with an opening stand of 137...

Lingfield all-weather programme

Table listing horse racing results for Lingfield, including race numbers, names, and times.

Results

Table listing horse racing results for various tracks, including race numbers, names, and times.

Results

Table listing horse racing results for various tracks, including race numbers, names, and times.

Results

Table listing horse racing results for various tracks, including race numbers, names, and times.

Advertisement for RACELINE, featuring contact information and a list of services.

Advertisement for Amigos foiled, featuring a story about Jimmy Fitzgerald's season.

Advertisement for ASCOT WARWICK, featuring contact information and a list of services.

Advertisement for Table Tennis, featuring contact information and a list of services.



Black and white all over... Kevin Keegan takes time out for the Newcastle fans, who are expected to spend £8.5 million on merchandise this year

PHOTOGRAPH: PAUL DIXON

North-East says hands off our managers

England expects but, if the fans have their way, Kevin Keegan and Bryan Robson will be staying put. David Hopps reports

ENGLAND'S search for a new manager is viewed as unsympathetically in the North-East that it will be no surprise to discover that Hadrian's Wall has been moved stones by stone overnight and re-erected at Scotch Corner.

The region has endured so much hardship of late that it is in no mood to export the managers who have presided over an extraordinary regeneration.

Four seasons ago Newcastle were grateful to Kevin Keegan for keeping them out of the Third Division; they now have the panache of potential champions. Middlesbrough habitually lumbered between the top two divisions to limited purpose; Bryan Robson has brought hope that they can not only stay there but do so with style.

For Keegan and Robson to be favourites to replace Terry Venables is unwelcome here. This represents much more than a parochial attempt to hold on to a couple of football managers who have achieved local popularity.

It is the proud expression of a region that believes it has been socially and economically betrayed, which cherishes the return of the good times and which will not relinquish them without a fight.

Keegan's faithful assertion that he is "interested in managing nobody but Newcastle" has brought joy on Tyneside,

although an awful lot can happen in six months.

Robson's suggestion that he wants to serve out the 18 months of his contract is more equivocal but has brought similar optimism on Teesside. If Jimmy Armfield, the Football Association's recruiter and opinion-seeker, ventures north, he should do so brandishing a white flag.

Michael Mitchell, marketing director for the North-East Chamber of Commerce, says: "There's no doubt that the success of Newcastle, Middlesbrough and Sunderland makes it easier to attract investors into the region."

"Rumour has it that the £1.1 billion Samsung project on Teesside was sealed after a night out for the company's executives at St James' Park."

"On a lesser scale local businesses accompanied a trade mission to Spain, organised around Newcastle's UEFA Cup tie against Athletic Bilbao. It paid dividends in creating a good atmosphere in which to make contacts and build relationships."

The industrial wasteland where Margaret Thatcher once walked for an electioneering photo-opportunity has been revitalised by the sport she rarely appreciated. It now houses Middlesbrough's new home, the Riverside Stadium, built with considerable financial help from the European Community's development fund.

These days Middlesbrough can even be found on the Internet. Ben Gent, a maths student at St Aidan's College in Durham, introduced the page on the worldwide web in the aftermath of Robson's appointment.

"At the start it had about two [virtual] visitors a week but now it's up to about 250 a day," he said. "When Juninho signed there was a lot of interest in Brazil. I'd be devastated

if Robbo left to manage England. I'd probably have to give the page a black border."

For the past eight years Ron Bone has been Soccer's youth development officer and, in his role recruiting young players in clubs and schools, he has been keenly aware of the impetus given to the region since Robson's arrival.

Bone's mention of a "rub-down effect" makes him sound like a part-time masseur, but rub-down, knock-on or feel-good, the message was unmistakable: Robson, brought up along the road

from Bone in Chester-le-Street, is an important figurehead.

"Bryan has always taken a keen interest in the development of young players - Alex Ferguson encouraged that at Manchester United," Bone says.

"On the last Saturday home game before Christmas, against Manchester City, we had a lad over to see us from Ireland. Bryan spent half an hour, until half an hour before kick-off, talking to him. That's how committed he is. The whole region is booming. I can't believe some of the

things I'm seeing in Middlesbrough. There are more people queuing for the club shop than two years ago were going to the matches."

For queues at club shops Newcastle take some beating. Four years ago their shop turnover was £200,000 a year. This year's forecasts, to May 31, are £8.5 million. A black-and-white striped shirt is a ringer for the club's crest, and in Newcastle city centre, it adorns all ages and sizes.

Such is the desire to be identified with the club that Newcastle have even introduced their own range of leisurewear. If England's designs on Keegan are seen in black and white, that would be no surprise - the whole city is that colour.

At Fosway Builders Merchants there has been a long tradition of sponsoring players' kit and, in the aftermath of Newcastle's defeat by Arsenal in the Coca-Cola Cup, its director Malcolm Hook expanded on the club's enormous influence upon the city.

"The morning after our defeat at Arsenal about 20 per cent of our customers wanted to talk about the match and the rest were probably thinking about it," he said.

"Everybody has been on a high these last few years. Monday mornings used to be tough around here. We thought the good times would never come along again. Now the yard is full of Newcastle shirts and hats."

"Keegan has given us all something to look forward to. They worship him here. He'll never join England, it's just impossible."



Teesside Messiah... Bryan Robson stirs up interest in Middlesbrough

PHOTOGRAPH: CARL RUTHERFORD

AFRICAN NATIONS' CUP: John Perlmann in Johannesburg looks at a tournament that will divert attention from the England tour

Ghana look good but South Africa may defy logic

WHATEVER the state of play in the third national at the Wanderers ground here today, most South Africans will reach for the remote control come mid-afternoon and switch channels to the action that will be taking place on the other side of the city.

At the 80,000-seat FNB Stadium on the outskirts of Soweto, South Africa and Cameroon meet in the opening game of the 20th African Nations' Cup. This biennial tournament is noted in Europe mainly for the gaps coaches must fill to replace absent African players such as Tony Yeboah of Leeds and Paulo Alves, Benfica's Angolan striker. But for three weeks, millions of Africans will talk of nothing else.

The opening match could set the tone for the rest of the tournament. While neither South Africa nor Cameroon

are given much chance of winning the African Unity Cup, failure by the home team early on could damage popular interest. As it is, two of the four sets of group matches are being played in cities with no strong football tradition. Bloemfontein and Port Elizabeth are even the most accomplished teams and players struggle to lift themselves in half-empty stadiums.

Home teams have enjoyed considerable success in the past. In tournaments producing eight triumphs for the hosts. But in the last two tournaments the home sides - Senegal in 1992 and Tunisia in 1994 - went out in the group stages, taking the fans and the atmosphere with them.

One team that might have kept a home crowd enthralled irrespective of South Africa's fortunes will not be taking part. As Cameroon had done in 1990, Nigeria, the defending champions, held their

own in the last World Cup and their better players are widely admired. Sadly, Nigeria's rulers claimed that the players would be at risk in South Africa and withdrew the team from the tournament.

In their absence, Ghana's chances of winning the cup for the fifth time have soared. They begin their campaign in Port Elizabeth tomorrow with a tough match against Ivory Coast, who beat them in the 1992 final and in the 1994 quarter-finals.

Yeboah, as important to Ghana as he is to Leeds, has players of quality and considerable experience alongside him. Abedi Pele, the Torino striker who won a European Cup medal with Marseille, was in the team that won the cup back in 1982. Ghana have youthful dash too, built around the side that won the under-17 World Cup in 1991.

If Ghana get it right it is difficult to see any side stop-

ping them - although South Africa did beat near full-strength side 2-1 in late 1994. Cameroon can never be written off, but the team has been undermined by a row between officials and players over money that dates back to their disastrous 1984 World Cup campaign.

Egypt, coached by the former Dutch defender Rued Krol, are ranked No. 1 in Africa and scored 24 goals in an impressive qualifying campaign. Algeria, spearheaded by their midfielder Abdelhadi Tafout, who plays for Auxerre, are nearing the form that won them the cup in 1990. But the dismissal of their coach Rabah Madjer, who scored the winner in Algeria's 2-1 World Cup win against West Germany in 1982, will not help their cause.

Zambia, beaten finalists in 1994, and Zaire are contenders with Ivory Coast, for whom Ivory Tishi of Lens is rated the best attacking mid-

fielder in Africa. Logic dictates that South Africa, playing in the finals for the first time, do not have a chance - but logic seldom holds sway south of the Limpopo.

They have home advantage - although the absurdly high ticket prices set by the local FA may undermine that - and in Nelson Mandela a president with a great line in half-time talks. They have also put together an impressive unbeaten run of 13 games, including victories over Zambia, Ghana and Egypt and draws against Argentina and Germany.

Whoever wins the final on February 3, there will have been opportunities aplenty for individual players. Every team has a player who could do something exceptional for his side and something lucrative for himself, with scouts and agents prowling hotel corridors between games.

While the rugby union World Cup and the England

cricket tour have seen a significant bridging of the country's racial divides, the Cup of Nations is the first major event to be staged by South Africa's only black-run sport. Football's administrators will be keen to make the tournament work.

But although the host country has facilities that the rest of Africa can only dream about, the development of soccer - left to stagnate in the apartheid era - has continued to lag because of poor coaching and administration.

Now there is an added incentive to succeed. Africa looks certain to host the World Cup within the next 15 years and apart from Morocco, who failed to qualify for the tournament, no other African country looks capable of doing so.

Group A (Port Elizabeth): Ivory Coast, Ghana, Tunisia, Mozambique.



Yeboah... star with quality supporting cast

Absent Nigeria face ban from World Cup

NIGERIA will be barred from the 1998 World Cup qualifiers if they fail to arrive for the African Nations' Cup, according to Fifa's general secretary Sepp Blatter.

Nigeria, the holders, have been withdrawn from the tournament by the country's military leaders but a place has been left open for them in case there is a last-minute change of heart.

Nigeria, due to play Zaire tomorrow, have already been threatened with a four-year suspension from African competition by the Confederation of African Football and Blatter said yesterday: "If any sanction is enforced by CAF against Nigeria, then Fifa will have no alternative but to extend that sanction to all its competitors."

The Fifa president Joao Havelange said he was still trying to persuade the Nigerian government to send the team to South Africa.

A N Other

FOOTBALL will always need its poor bloody infantrymen, its unsung heroes, and it is difficult to recall the praises of this tenacious Merseysider ever being enrolled on a regular basis. Yet he was consistently good at what he did, which was to dispose opponents with timely tackles while leaving the creative work to others. Among scientists he was a laboratory assistant, but in a sticky period for toffees never gave less than his best. Later he went on a Welsh course but before that moved further west to a place better known, funnily, as a day trip.

Last week: Ron Greenwood (Bradford Park Avenue, Brentford, Chelsea, Fulham).

TEAM SHEET

Bottom v Wimbledon
Bottom will be missing their central defenders Felton and Taggart, who both start two-game suspensions. But Bargeron is back from suspension and he could partner Stubbs, withdrawn from midfield, or Todd the manager's son. The winger Lee, if again after hamstring problems, is included in the squad. Wimbledon covered by uncoupled although Tore and Fabry have been added to the travelling party.

Everton v Chelsea
Everton are definitely without Watson (suspended) and concerned about Ferguson (hamstring) and Southall (suspended). Short back will be fit to replace Watson in central defence and Amachihi in the squad. Chelsea's withdrawal from the available African Cup, Chelsea have two of their foreigners (Gullit and Petrusic) over injuries but may have to do without another. If Kharine fails to recover from the groin strain he picked up in Sunday's FA Cup draw with Newcastle, Hitchcock will take over.

Leeds v West Ham
With Yeboah and Mieshaq on African Nations Cup duty and Dennis suspended, Leeds will reintroduce Chapman back on loan from Ipswich. In fact, West Ham will introduce Whyte on loan from Burnley.

Manchester Utd v Aston Villa
Manchester United will welcome back Schuster (recovered from a calf injury) in place of Pilkington in goal and Scholes (recovered from flu) in place of Beckford (suspended) in midfield. Aston Villa will replace Yorke playing in the North and Central American Gold Cup for Trinidad with Taylor.

Middlesbrough v Arsenal
Middlesbrough have four defenders missing, with Cox suspended and Fleming, Morris and Whyte injured. Their playmaker Bryan Robson is struggling with a calf injury but Fleming is fit again. Arsenal will replace Winterburn (suspended at ten-back with Morris or the 10-year-old Gawn sidekick, Keown will resume in Bowd's place in central defence.

Nottingham Forest v Southampton
Forest have a fully fit squad. Southampton are considering two changes: Bonelli and Madisson could return in place of Charlton and Watson.

QPR v Blackburn Rovers
QPR have Hately back in contention after

Sheffield Wed v Liverpool
Wednesday are likely to bring back their former Liverpool defender Nield and may make more changes. Woods and Brezina are back at the squad and may replace Pressman and Sutton Liverpool will replace Wright and harness their two central defensive defenders, with Rudock and Sutt.

Tottenham v Manchester City
Tottenham will replace Fox (hamstring) with Coxall and bring back Wilson, who has recovered from ankle and groin injuries. Kerlake and Turner are also included in the squad. City will replace Bell-le-back Brightwell (suspended) with the 21-year-old Rae Ingram.

TOMORROW
Coventry v Newcastle
Coventry can recall Kellou after for four matches with an eye injury, and have Barrows, out for 11 games after leaving 2 hamstring, back in contention. Newcastle will be without Honey (hamstring) and Lee (hamstring, tendon), while Albert is suffering from the flu. He is fit again to challenge Strach for the goalkeeper position.



Performance of the week: Michael Duberry (Chelsea), who was outstanding in defence against Newcastle in last Sunday's FA Cup tie.

Gascoigne hit by European double whammy

PAUL Gascoigne has received a two-match suspension from UEFA as a result of his ordering-off during Rangers' final Champions' League match against Borussia Dortmund.

The England midfielder, dismissed after a second caution for insulting the referee in Germany, was fortunate not to have got a three-game ban, a fate that had befallen his team-mates.

The defenders Alan McLaren and Alex Cleland both missed three European Cup matches after sendings-off. McLaren originally received a four-game ban, which was reduced on appeal.

Gascoigne's absence could prove significant if Rangers

win the Premier Division championship and draw awkward opposition in next season's preliminary round. If they are in the UEFA Cup, he would miss the first-round proper.

It is becoming less likely that Rangers will add the Brazilian striker Jardel to their ranks. The Ibrox club have found it impossible to secure a Portuguese passport for the player, giving him the rights of a European Union member. As he is not an international, he would be unable to gain a work permit from the Department of Employment.

There are only 10 of these in Scotland, one of which will be handed back now Oleg Salenko, the Russian striker, is moving to Istanbulspor of Turkey in exchange for the Dutch striker, Peter van Vossen.

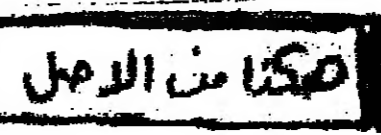
Brian Laudrup returns to the side for the home match against Raith Rovers this afternoon, but Scotland's match of the weekend is Aberdeen v Celtic at Pittodrie tomorrow.

These teams have already staged one of the events of the season - Celtic's 3-2 victory after being 2-0 down in September.

"That game told us our players had what it takes to make a real challenge," said the Celtic manager Tommy Burns. "We took great encouragement and confidence from that and haven't looked back."

Burns is unlikely to change his team but the Aberdeen manager Roy Aitken has "several new problems" and will assess his squad tomorrow.

Tackle from behind



charges... to stick... nables

a pledges... lf to stay

an double whammy

Soccer Tackle from behind

Soccer Diary Martin Thorpe

A CURIOUS story appeared in one of the tabloids earlier this week about an alleged incident in the Chelsea car park after their FA Cup game with Newcastle...



Day return... Greg Rusedski heads for defeat at the hands of Todd Martin in Sydney

Becker next for beaten Rusedski

Greg Rusedski's winning run at the Peters International in Sydney was ended at the semi-final stage yesterday when he was beaten by Todd Martin.

In the women's event Brenda Schultz-McCarthy beat Mary Joe Fernandez 7-6, 6-3 and plays Monica Seles in today's semi-finals.

Tennis Agassi rides crest of the old wave

David Irvine wonders where the young Americans are as he looks at contenders for next week's Australian Open in Melbourne

MONICA SELES's renewed challenge to Steffi Graf should help revive the flagging women's game in what seems an encouraging season.

It is unlikely, however, that Sampras and the holder Agassi will let an outsider steal their thunder — even if neither is as well prepared as he might have liked.

Seles feels she must beware the title-holder Mary Pierce, who has not won any event of significance since defeating Larantza Sanchez-Vicario in last year's final.



Enqvist... on the rise

Rugby Union

Ntamack the knife well honed for England

Robert Armstrong on the French flyer threatening a trial of pace in Paris

IT IS easy to see why many Frenchmen believe Emile Ntamack will spearhead his country to a Grand Slam for the first time in nine years.

Ntamack can hardly wait to get the ball in his hands for England's visit to Paris, a fixture giving France an early opportunity to repeat last summer's World Cup triumph.

Underwood, whom Ntamack generously describes as "magnifique", will have the dangerous task of marking the Toulouse wing at the Parc des Princes.



No holding Ntamack... the grounded Morris is left behind in the World Cup defeat by France in Pretoria

neau and the centre Thomas Castaignede, not to mention the ball-holding prop Christian Calmano.

and, at the start of the year, he scored a Five Nations try against Wales.

Skiing

Downhill fails to survive troublesome Streif

THE only man who could gain the slightest satisfaction from yesterday's cancellation of Kitzbühel's sprint downhill was Lasse Kjus.

Geoff Cooke, England's former Rugby Union coach, is here making a report to the Sports Council on the state of Britain's ski racing.

Boxing

IBF heavyweight champion fails drug test

THE LUCK of Axel Schulz might finally be changing, writes Jack Massarik.

Cricket

England tour to SA Match Reports 0891 22 88 29

SportsGuardian

Europe ban leaves Spurs fuming

Martin Thorpe

AN ALMIGHTY row was brewing yesterday after Uefa banned Tottenham Hotspur and Wimbledon from European competition for a year as further punishment for their half-hearted participation in the InterToto Cup.

Both clubs will appeal but Alan Sugar, the Tottenham chairman, is almost certain to consider legal action if what he sees as a blatant injustice is not overturned — especially as Spurs are in a strong position in the Premiership to win a Uefa Cup place this season.

Uefa announced the ban through its press spokesman Massimo Gonella. "It has been imposed because Tottenham and Wimbledon fielded below-strength teams in last summer's InterToto Cup," he said. "It will be active for five years and, if either club qualifies for any European competition within that period, they will not be allowed to compete."

Uefa has already docked English clubs a Uefa Cup place next season over the InterToto incident and also withheld appearance money from Tottenham and Wimbledon. The general view yesterday was that this third punishment was a step too far.

Yesterday Sugar said: "There must be a very big misunderstanding and I am sure it will be cleared up very shortly."

Premier League clubs agreed in principle to compete in last summer's InterToto Cup but some months later got cold feet. However, Uefa refused to allow them to withdraw, threatening the FA with the loss of a Uefa Cup place if three English clubs did not appear.

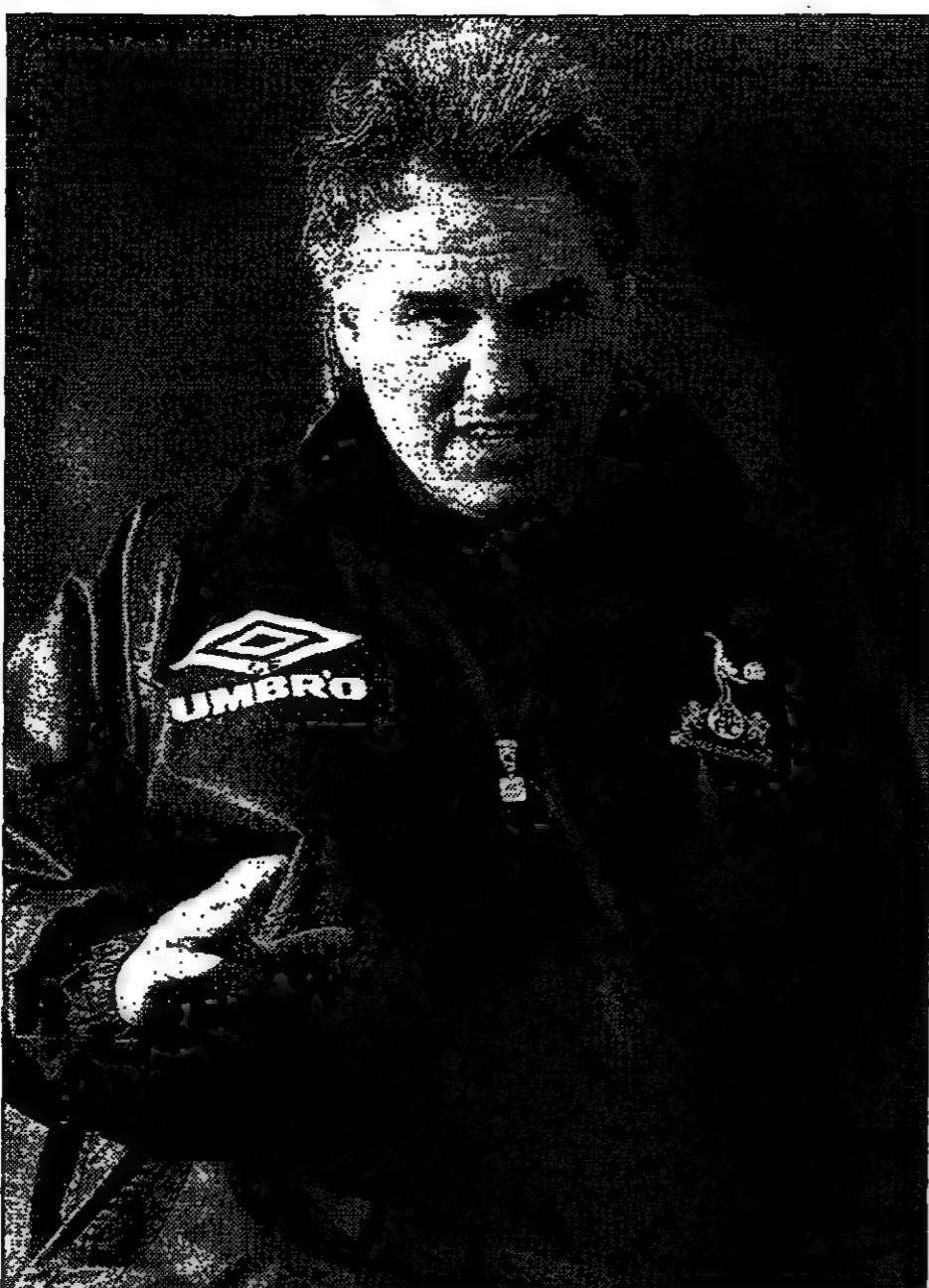
In the end three volunteered, Sheffield Wednesday, Wimbledon and Spurs. "We entered the InterToto Cup by way of a favour to the Football Association and Premier League," confirmed Sugar yesterday. And he stressed: "We received permission from them to play a weaker team and even to use players from other clubs and play at other club's stadiums (they played at Brighton)."

"I believe we even confirmed this in writing and also received an assurance by telephone from Uefa that nothing would happen if we proceeded on that basis."

"Therefore, the wires have been crossed somewhere and I am sure it will be resolved. I am confident that both the FA and Premier League will back up exactly what I have said."

The FA and Premier League both pledged their full support to the appeals. Sheffield Wednesday, who put out stronger teams and played at Hillsborough, were only reprimanded by Uefa.

THE SUCCESSION TO VENABLES: NOW FRANCIS TURNS HIS BACK



Gerry Francis
'I am of the same opinion as I was two years ago: if my future is in football, it would be at club level'

Glenn Hoddle
'I haven't even thought about it. I have enough problems of my own as a club manager. I imagine the FA want continuity and Bryan Robson is my idea of the man who would get it'



Howard Wilkinson
'I have absolutely nothing to say about whether or not I might want the job or whether I am the person for the job or who I think should have the job'



FA refuses to panic

Leading candidates are still in the England frame in spite of their apparent lack of interest, reports **Martin Thorpe**

ENGLAND appeared to be running out of candidates for the job of manager yesterday but the Football Association refused to panic.

Kevin Keegan, Bryan Robson and Ray Wilkins seemed to rule themselves out on Thursday and yesterday it was the turn of Gerry Francis. But the FA's chief executive Graham Kelly is unperturbed. When asked yesterday whether he was worried, he replied: "Not unduly. Things can change."

This is an acknowledgement that, though a manager may pledge his loyalty to a club, it can be more a common courtesy than an unequivocal position. The general feeling remains that Robson is the man to replace Terry Venables, especially as

he is understood to have a get-out clause in his Middlesbrough contract should an England offer be made.

Francis said yesterday: "At the present time I am of the same opinion as I was two years ago, when I was interviewed about the England position — that if my future is in football, it would be at club level." But does "at the present time" mean he could change his mind?

If so, Francis would be available, as he works without a contract at Spurs. Another contender, Glenn Hoddle, would also be free as his Chelsea contract expires at the end of this season. And yesterday he did not rule out his candidacy. "I haven't even thought about it. I don't wish to plan too far ahead," he said, before backing Robson for the job.

It is understood that the Leeds manager Howard Wilkinson is unlikely to be considered for the post, even if he wanted it. Yesterday he was giving little away: "I have absolutely nothing to say about whether or not I might want the job or whether I am the person for the job."

"I have absolutely nothing to say about who I think should have the job. I have nothing to say about what I think the job is about or the qualities I think are necessary for whoever does get the job."

A dark horse for the position could be Nottingham Forest's Frank Clark. He is highly thought of within the FA and yesterday his odds for the job shortened sharply from 33-1 to 20-1.

Kelly said that the FA subcommittee charged with find-

ing a new manager will begin its work next week, adding: "We'd like to have the announcement made before Euro '96 because that will give the person concerned the opportunity of thinking about the job, watching the teams we will be playing in the World Cup and generally making preparations."

He also said that the new man could learn alongside the current coach before the handover. "I'm sure Terry would welcome him along and extend every facility to him; there is no reason not to," said Kelly. "But there has got to be a clear understanding that it's Terry's job for this championship."

Kelly gave few hints about the FA's thinking on a successor but ruled out a *wild card* by Venables. "The FA mediation between Sugar and Venables has not yet succeeded and it was Terry's view that it would not succeed in sufficient time to avoid the court cases in October and Novem-

ber. So I don't see any way back from the decision he conveyed to us the other day."

"The stumbling block is that the gap between Sugar and Venables is too wide. Each has moved towards the other but short of a miracle, it won't be resolved in time."

But, he added pointedly: "Had that dispute been resolved earlier the situation with Terry would have been different."

Players put in peril by Tel exchange



David Lacey

A NUMBER of England footballers' careers were put on hold this week. Some may even have been given six months' notice. That is the way of it when a national coach announces his intention of standing down.

The length of the guess list concerning the man the Football Association will appoint to succeed Terry Venables after the European Championship has almost been matched by the queue of those declaring their lack of interest in the job.

This is hardly surprising considering the managerial reputations ruined by the England experience. Why exchange a well-paid life in the Premier League for a smaller salary in purgatory? Did the Church of England consult Venables, Graham Taylor and Bobby Robson before redefining Hell?

Sombody, however, will eventually be handed the task of attempting to take England to the 1996 World Cup in France via Italy, Poland, Georgia and Moldova while the back pages search for some new lines in a bus.

The first favour the FA can do Venables's successor is to ensure that, when the dates for the qualifiers are sorted out in Warsaw next week, England do not play a World Cup game before October. The next England coach will need to see his team in action at least once before hardening up his ideas for the coming struggle.

On just what those ideas turn out to be will depend the futures of a number of players who until this week might reasonably have assumed they would still be part of the international scene after Euro '96.

For Paul Gascoigne, Teddy Sheringham and Dennis Wise the identity of the next England coach will be of particular interest. The same goes for David Platt, too, although on his present form for Arsenal he might struggle to get

into a side picked by Taylor. Spare a thought, too, for Graeme Le Saux and Darren Anderton, who blossomed under Venables but who are, for the moment, in limbo. Injuries could force both out of the European Championship and the next coach may have other preferences.

It would be a rare change-over that did not see at least one England career chopped off at the knees. Frank Worthington was a gifted centre-forward but he lasted only two more games once Don Revie had relieved Joe Mercer of the England caretaker'ship in 1974. Revie was not into Elvis and Worthington's designer-stubble was 20 years ahead of its time.

The arrival of Ron Greenwood in 1977 meant only one more cap for Brian Talbot, and that against Australia, because in the age of the thoroughbred there was no longer a place for an honest but limited workhorse. In the same way Carlton Palmer, whose lack of tactical discipline drove Taylor to screaming pitch, quickly disappeared from the England scene once Venables had taken over.

PERSONALITIES also come into the argument. Robson, for example, wasted no time dropping Kevin Keegan when he became manager after the 1982 World Cup. And what might England have achieved had Venables been given the job in 1990, when Chris Waddle and Gary Lineker, neither of them Taylor's greatest fans, were in the squad?

A number of international players, then, will be made or unmade by the next England coach. The appointment of Gerry Francis, for example, would have been good news for Ferdinand, Sheringham, Anderton and Barnaby.

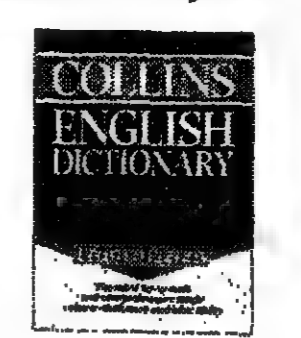
Francis's teams attack with Taylor's high tempo and defend with Venables's austerity. Bryan Robson and Glenn Hoddle are counter-punchers who place slightly more emphasis on possession. All three are in the "No" lobby, along with Keegan.

Whoever takes over, the choice of genuine international talent remains distinctly unimpressive. Francis made it to Euro '96 after the services of Cantona and Gnollia had been dispensed with. The next England coach will have to think twice before leaving out Stone.

Guardian COLLINS Crossword 20,548

A copy of the Collins English Dictionary, will be sent to the first five correct entries drawn. Entries to Guardian Crossword No 20,548, Reference Marketing, Harper Collins Publishing, 77-86 Fulham Palace Road, London, W6 6JB, by first post on Friday. Solution and winners in the Guardian on Monday January 22.

Name _____
Address _____



1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32

- Set by Plodge
- Across**
- 1, 26, 28 The seven fond words we're loth to abandon (7,2,3,5)
 - 5 Wispy-washy pickpocket is back after being inside (7)
 - 9 One's without means to make a sink about it (5)
 - 10, 14 The Alchemist's Stew's seven mild spoils of war (7,2,6)
 - 11 Quick march! The Guardian is being flourished in the Commons (5,5)
 - 12 Grasses are coming up on Sirius (4)
 - 14 The Premier sometimes kicks out the seven (5,5)
 - 18 It met, in facing the western seven (11)
- Down**
- 1 see 10
 - 2 Diana's oysters? (5)
 - 3 One's gut-reaction to suffering in later age (10)
 - 4 Cuttlefish takes off, holding one back (5)

- 5 Wrong but strangely pure note played by bad character (3-6)
- 6 You must speak up to appropriate the seven (4)
- 7 The draught is back in place (8)
- 8 Minerals expert is about to fell all the trees (8)
- 13 Sober Sam but foolishly following his promises to pay up (10)
- 15 Getting down a pale ale with a gin sling chaser (9)
- 16 By no means all will admit claw-back trade restrictions (8)
- 17 Employing grave force? That is wrong (8)
- 19 The summons that man received will make him squirm (5)
- 20 Almost heard the reason for Jules having brought out the fabulous dragon (6)
- 23 See 1 across
- 24 Fall back to the island in Manila Bay (4)

CROSSWORD SOLUTION 20,547
C E 1 2 3

Mystery of the two Barrels.

A Publican was left bamboozled yesterday as he was required to measure out exactly 40 litres of Ruddles County.

He was presented with two barrels, one having a 30 litre capacity and the other being able to hold 50 litres. An unlimited supply of this most marvellous beer was available and he could fill each of the barrels as many times as he wished. However, the hapless individual failed to puzzle it out.

Perhaps you could have been of some assistance?

A top 30 litre and 50 litre barrel expert from the Ruddles brewery announced plans to release information leading to the solving of this conundrum, advising people to put their minds at rest by revolving their heads 180 degrees.

Small text at bottom: South-west: 30 litre barrel: A, 50 litre barrel: B. Four 10 litre tins: A, 10 litre tin: B. Four 10 litre tins: A, 10 litre tin: B. Empty tins: A, 10 litre tin: B.

صحة من الامم

15 17 21 23

15 OTHER LIVES
The miners who got their kit off for the community

17 INTERVIEW
Alastair Little: A big noise in the small kitchen

21 MONEY
Are you really with the Woolwich?

23 BUSINESS
Dole queues drive Kohl's coalition on to the ropes

13
Saturday January 13
1996

The Guardian Outlook

BRIAN WENHAM urges the BBC's next chairman to go boldly into pay TV, while **right, STEVE BARNETT** says the time has come to break Murdoch's grip on sport

King Bland must dish it to Rupert

The battle the Beeb can win

WITH customary back-handedness, ministers have gone out of their way to give Christopher Bland, the next BBC chairman, a baptism of fire. It was needlessly arrogant of them not to run his appointment past the Opposition, whose grudging acquiescence was there for the asking; and further folly not to have popped him into the post sooner.

As it is, the appointment of this staunch Tory coincides with the opening salvos of a long, long pre-election tussle. That tussle is shaping up as Shareholder versus Stakeholder. Multi-millionaire Bland, a spectacular beneficiary of the first, will now have his work cut out ensuring his troops give full balancing weight to the second. Had ministers moved faster, Bland might have been accorded a new boy's benefit of the doubt. In the present fevered atmosphere he will have to earn it, day by day and week by week.

Pressure will be at its most intense during the election campaign itself, when BBC wobbles are usually at their worst. Last time round it contrived to "hold over" a perceptive Panorama piece from Peter Jay, its economics editor, preferring to let the Tory machine whirr away unimpeded. It was a low moment for a public service body. Two initial thoughts. We are constantly told that the educational system is at full stretch. The BBC ranks education within its trinity of "inform, educate and entertain". In practice education has always run a poor third, squeezed for space and for talent. Educational programming could plug gaps left by more formal provision. If a package can be put together with conviction, then it should be done, and provided it makes a serious contribution, done with public subvention.

Similarly, classical music is at the heart of BBC tradition. The BBC still retains a flutist of orchestras, and it runs a radio music channel. Add to that the output of opera houses and concert halls across the land, and you begin to see the outline of a distinctive offering. Putting this package in place would be fraught with trickiness over rights and payments, but — if done well — it could find a ready subscribers club. Devotees are as numerous as for most sports, and many stump up £200 for a night out for two at Jeremy Isaac's

place. When BBC2 screened Wagner's Ring in the early eighties, a million viewers watched what is hardly easy fare. Take that as meaning half a million homes, and assume only a tenth sign on at, say £100 a year. 550 million looks like good cost-covering economics, with the prospect of expanding through Europe to come.

Having spent the last 10 years spitting on its own past, the BBC must now dig into its heritage, and find ways of driving true broadcast choice forward. It should come more easily to them than to rivals whose bottom-line considerations will push them towards safer options.

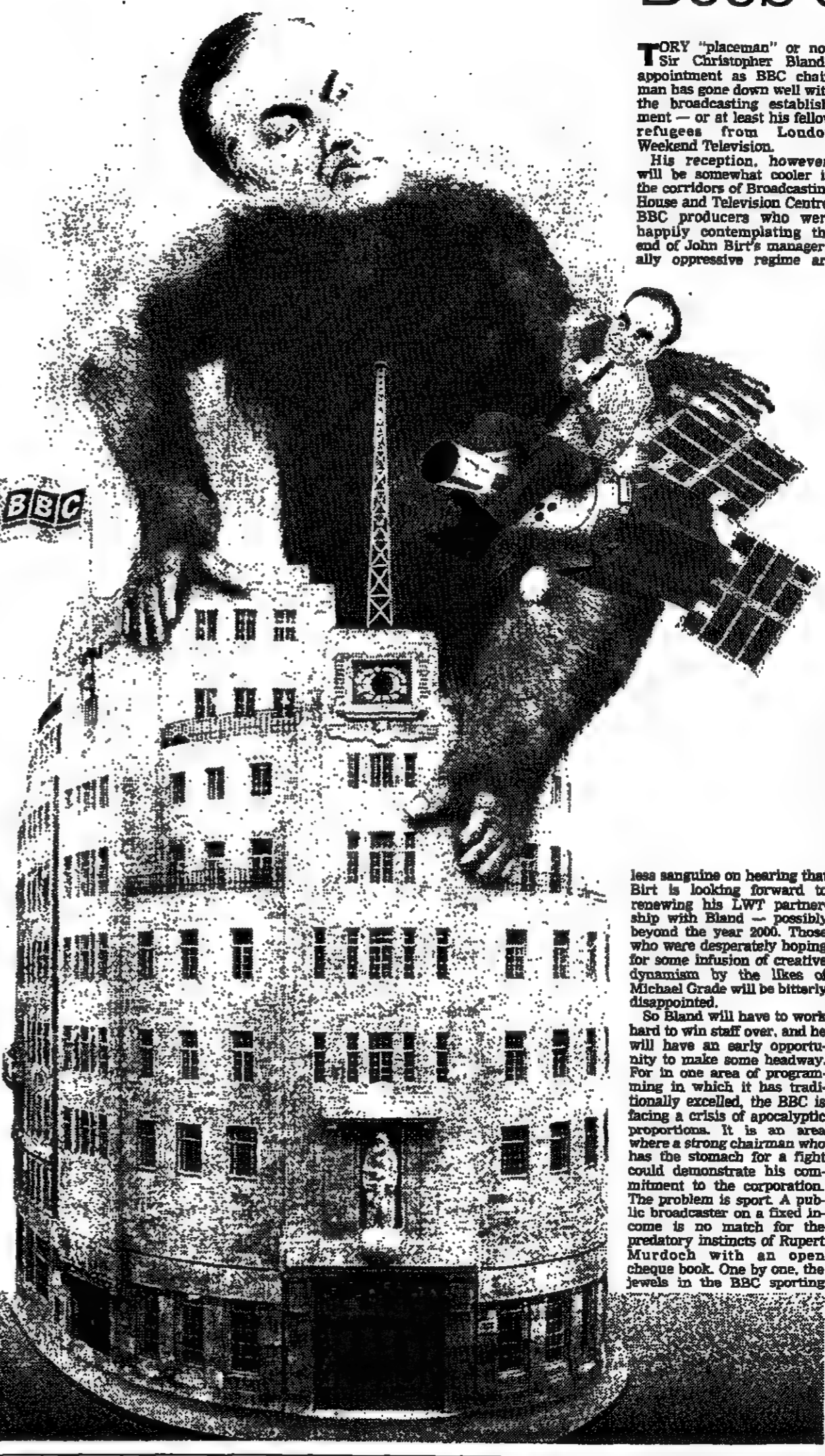
It must, of course, always take care not to deprive the licence-payer of something he or she might reasonably expect to have got within the licence; and it will need financial transparency of a sort that has not always come easily to the corporation.

But long-term its salvation will lie in doing what it always claims it does best — even when it evidently does not — and that is to extend the range of what is available, and then to extend it again and again. That is Bland's challenge, and he is both clear-headed and far-sighted enough to take it on. But who sits alongside him? Early comment has assumed Bland's arrival means a further term for John Birt, his one-time LWT director of programmes. But the imagination now called for is not Birt's strongest suit, and in any case chairmen like their own appointees.

On the past four occasions, after much huffing and puffing, the job has gone to the next in line, in this case Bob Phillips, Birt's deputy. But next time there might be a field that is genuinely open. Michael Grade is often mentioned but the idea now has an eighties feel to it. Greg Dyke works well with Bland, but one multi-millionaire is enough for the BBC, two might be thought to verge on the louché. So a fourth name comes up: David Elstein, BBC-trained, who then went through the hoops at ITV and as an independent, and who now works for Murdoch. Time was when his present position would have been considered an obstacle, but now it may well be a plus.

Brian Wenham is a former managing director of BBC network radio.

Illustration by Steve Caplin



TORY "placeman" or not, Sir Christopher Bland's appointment as BBC chairman has gone down well with the broadcasting establishment — or at least his fellow refugees from London Weekend Television.

His reception, however, will be somewhat cooler in the corridors of Broadcasting House and Television Centre. BBC producers who were happily contemplating the end of John Birt's managerially oppressive regime are

under its nose and turned into hugely profitable satellite commodities. Now, if you want to watch live Premier league soccer, golf's Ryder Cup, cricket one-day internationals or Rugby League, you won't get much change out of £200 a year. No one but satellite viewers will get to see next month's cricket's World Cup — not even highlights. Soon, it will be rugby's Five Nations, followed by Wimbledon and the Grand National. Murdoch's bid for the Sydney Olympic Games in the year 2000 is already on the table.

Not everyone likes sport. But even those who reach for the remote control at the sight of Desmond Lynam appreciate the cultural significance of great sporting occasions which are part of the country's national heritage. Over eight million viewers regularly tune in to BBC's A Question of Sport and many more watch the big events. Sport matters to a lot of people, but only 20 per cent of homes have access to satellite channels.

The big sporting events can, and should, be protected for universal viewing on terrestrial channels — as they were before the 1990 Broadcasting Act abolished such protection except for (non-existent) pay-as-you-view purposes. And Sir Christopher Bland can lead the way by calling on both political parties to unite in defence of a provision which is manifestly in the public interest.

He will face bowls of protest — from the sporting bodies who will claim gross interference in their negotiating ability, and from Murdoch's representatives on earth who will argue that the need to preserve a free market. With four competing terrestrial broadcasters, the argument no longer holds. It is based purely on greed.

It would be a brave campaign, not least because it will reignite those hostile self-interested editorials which were a feature of the Murdoch press a decade ago. But there is much more than televised sport at stake. Within his five-year tenure Bland will face a renewed political battle for the licence fee — opposed this time not by the radical right but by the old-style left concerned about an escalating and regressive tax on the elderly and low-paid. More than any other single programming strand, the gradual disappearance of big sporting events from the BBC erodes the case for a compulsory licence fee. The BBC knows it. And so does Rupert Murdoch.

It is a battle worth fighting, and even the Labour Party may suspend its love affair with Rupert long enough to listen. Just to launch the campaign will give Bland a flying start with the anxious staff and satellite-wary viewers he is about to inherit. He doesn't have long to stem the flow.

Steve Barnett is co-author of The Battle For The Beeb, and lectures at the University of Westminster.

Alan Bennett wishes you a rewarding New Year with the London Review of Books



'David Frost's rise as a political commentator is in direct proportion to the decline of respect for politicians. Major, Blair and Ashdown meekly trot along to be lightly grilled by Frost, and indeed use the occasion for statements of policy and matters of national importance. It's as if Jesus were to undertake the feeding of the Five Thousand as a contribution to Challenge America.'

Alan Bennett, in the current issue of the London Review of Books

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Tickling Europe's deficit

IT IS the familiar story of the British disease: stagnating economic growth; rows between employers and unions; a worsening budget deficit; indigenous companies investing abroad rather than at home; and unemployment soaring to socially unacceptable levels. The only difference is that the country in question is not Britain but Germany, whose deepening economic problems are starting to throw a dark shadow across the timetable for monetary union in Europe. It is not just that the German economy recorded virtually no growth in the second half of last year. Or that unemployment at 9.3 per cent is much higher than in Britain (8 per cent). All this is bad enough; but worse, from the point of view of German pride, is the fact that the federal government's budget deficit (at 3.6 per cent of GDP) is now well above the ceiling of 3 per cent which we have been led to believe had been etched forever in the Maastricht tablets. Germany has been pompously lecturing other states to bring down their deficits to the prescribed level in order to qualify for the single currency. Suddenly, it finds

itself one of the biggest offenders. And if Germany, the locomotive economy of Europe, is in deep doo doo then it is unlikely that neighbours like France which depend heavily on her for exports will be able to meet Maastricht either. Even if one accepts the view that the poor recent performance of the German economy is merely a pause before growth is resumed later this year it is unlikely that unemployment — one of the biggest devourers of public money — will drop substantially. This is because so much German joblessness is structural. Traditional industries are shedding labour while German companies, put off by high domestic costs, are increasingly investing abroad (\$26 billion in the first nine months of 1995) in the lower wage countries of Eastern Europe, Asia and even Britain.

If the "core" economies of the EU don't qualify for monetary union on their own criteria, will the whole project be abandoned or at least postponed? Not at all. As John Palmer reports elsewhere today, the Euro spin doctors are already poring over the small print of Maastricht and have discovered that it is a less rigid document than they were prepared to admit even a few weeks ago. For instance Article 104c allows the Commission to decide whether a deficit in excess of 3 per cent is "exceptional and temporary" or whether a deficit "exceeds government investment expenditure" implying, so it is argued, that deficits caused by investment spending might be dealt with more leniently than those caused by consumption outlays. And if the Council of Ministers decides to get tough, it will need a

two thirds majority — which may be difficult to marshal if most of the participants themselves are breaching their ceilings. Exit Maastricht the unchallengeable treaty set in tablets of stone: enter Maastricht, your flexible friend.

European governments must do more than redefine the goal posts. If they want to prevent the whole European project from becoming associated in the public mind with recession and unemployment they had better act collectively and aggressively to cut interest rates to boost business confidence, re-invigorate the housing market and bolster the feel-good factor. This won't cure Germany's structural unemployment overnight but it may do something to alleviate Euroclerosis. There is a strong case for reducing interest rates on a global basis. The three main economic centres of the world — the United States, Japan and Europe — are all expanding much more slowly than their underlying productive potential and at a time when inflationary pressures are still weak practically everywhere. They could all expand at minimal risk to inflation if only their leaders had the courage to do so. What the global economy needs is the economic equivalent of electric shock treatment. But if the rest of the world won't join in, then Europe should drop interest rates collectively with Germany — the country with most to gain — leading from the front. If Europe can prove to its critics that it can act decisively with unity of purpose now, it will do more to boost confidence in the flagging European project than all the gyrations around the Maastricht Treaty.

Umpiring the umpires

FAIR play is one of the great sources of British national pride. Our justice is the best in the world, we still like to say, though the evidence for the claim gets more threadbare by the year and few of us have the faintest idea whether anyone else's justice is actually any better or worse. In the same vein we also pride ourselves on the probity of our public life, the incorruptible nature of our officials, our willingness to obey the rules and our respect for lawful authority.

These qualities and conceits all come together in our attitude to our sports umpires. Not far below the surface of our national skin is the suspicion that foreign umpires are not as fair, reliable or good as our own. Sometimes this belief in the unique qualities of the British whistle-blower can seem pretty unpleasant and racist. On other occasions it acquires a certain charm. Those whose memories go back to the 1974 World Cup Final between Beckenbauer's Germany and Cruyff's Holland may remember that British television coverage seemed to focus not on the brilliance of the game but on the achievements of the English referee Jack Taylor.

Nowhere is this belief more deeply embedded than in cricket. Given that the besetting problem of English cricket is the belief of those who play and administer that they are engaged in something much more significant than a mere

game, this is not surprising. Since cricket supposedly embodies our national values, it is inevitable that we should believe that our umpires, like our judges, are beyond reproach.

Dickie Bird, who has stood as an umpire in a record 65 Test matches and whose retirement was announced this week, is a national figure in spite of himself. As England's senior umpire he occupies a position in the national mystique not dissimilar to that of the Lord Chief Justice, or would do so if he did not condescend to give the impression that the part was being played by Norman Wisdom. Umpire Bird has skillfully rolled with the flow of the times, turning his job into the character role required by the television age and becoming the first umpire to write an autobiography, but it would be a mistake to imagine that he is without precedent. There was the formidable Umpire Syd Buller, he of the rolled up sleeves, the first umpire to receive an MBE and who died while umpiring at Edgbaston in 1970. Before him there was Umpire Frank Chester, whose loss of his right arm did not disable him from giving batsmen out promptly.

Cricket is no longer the means by which we bring our civilisation to the benighted colonial. So the world no longer accepts the belief, still secretly held wherever the Daily Telegraph is read, that ours are the only chaps you can trust to keep their heads in a crisis. The old days have gone and the role of senior umpire has passed to the television camera. There's a metaphor struggling to get through here. But we'll miss you, Dickie Bird, last of the breed.



At the dragon's mercy

The Chinese have Hong Kong's future in their grasp. But, argues **MARTIN WOOLLACOTT**, they could still scare away the people that matter and destroy the economy. Illustration by **PETER TILL**

GIVE it back to the Chinese? Never heard anything more ridiculous in my life! That was the kind of colonially choleric reaction which the idea of restoring Hong Kong to China evoked on the terrace of the Repulse Bay Hotel when it first became a public issue in the early seventies. There, looking down on the waters where British warships first anchored, some found it impossible to contemplate such a reversal of fortunes. But, as time went on, most people agreed that the new idea had one great merit. It aimed at the same object as the policy of staying on would

have done — the continuation of a somewhat separate, West-ern-connected Hong Kong — but, because it conceded Chinese sovereignty, it would, supposedly, allow the process of reversion to be controlled. It ruled out other, perhaps far-fetched, but nevertheless chilling scenarios: an invasion by the People's Liberation Army, a siege, or riot and rebellion in Hong Kong itself. Resistance to such pressures had already been figurative rather than real — even in the fifties, when Britain maintained a division in Hong Kong. Later, with a vastly diminished garrison, it became a joke. Hong Kong could never be held, that was certain.

Indeed, the very act of trying to hold it against the Chinese would signal the end of Hong Kong, because it would mean that the economic relationship which underpinned the city would be over.

Thus it was that Britain devised the policy of handing Hong Kong back, which led to Margaret Thatcher, not entirely convinced, and Deng Xiaoping, not entirely certain of Britain's motives, signing their agreement. But, after Malcolm Rifkind's difficult week in China, it has to be said that the clever notion that Britain and Hong Kong could control the integration of the territory looks even more ragged than it has done since Chris Patten's reforms first enraged Beijing three and a half years ago. Indeed, it is not so much ragged as gone with the wind.

The Chinese are in command and they are quite capable of steering Hong Kong into disaster. Impervious to argument, unfamiliar with the very concept of compromise, ever on the lookout for ways to signal their total power over

all Chinese citizens, they could turn 1996 into the year in which Hong Kong begins to die. Britain can do very little about it. In Beijing, Mr Rifkind has got nothing out of the Chinese on Hong Kong except promises to unblock one infrastructural project.

No amount of pleasant patter after meetings can conceal the fact that the Chinese have moved not one inch on their plan to dismantle the Hong Kong legislature, that they will continue to snub Patten, and that they will continue to ignore the most important political forces in the territory.

This became clear with the publication in December of the names of those who will serve on the new 150-strong preparatory committee. They include not a single member of the Democracy Party, Hong Kong's largest party, and only 14 members of the existing legislature.

This was an outrageous decision, proof of China's pre-occupation with establishing dominance. If you rebel, you will be punished, no matter how many votes you got or

how many people you represent: that is the message. The committee has about it, like much else of what the Chinese are doing in Hong Kong, the smell of deal between local capitalists and big Chinese operators in the Party, the ministries, the regional government, and the armed forces.

This is the kind of power play the Chinese understand, that between institutional heavyweights looking for part of any action that is going. And, in this play, local tycoons, as well as a few local politicians effective in "leading" public opinion, have their parts. There are not just two sides in the Hong Kong problem. Hong Kong itself is, of course, divided. But it is more important to understand that converging on Hong Kong from the Chinese side are a host of Chinese actors, sometimes rivals and sometimes allies, covetous of the territory's riches, looking for their share and anxious to deny shares to others, and seeing Hong Kong as a new square on the all-China political checkerboard. True autonomy worries

them, because it would hamper the making of offers impossible to refuse, the scooping up of local partners, the snatching of Chinese rivals.

It is a corrupt scramble of this kind, pulling Hong Kong into the wider struggles of a disturbed China, that Chris Patten has all along said it was critical to prevent. Greater democracy and genuine autonomy were, in his view, linked barriers against it, but Rifkind's trip is the final confirmation that the Patten plan has fallen short of its purpose. Whether enough remains for Hong Kong to survive the transition in recognisable form is questionable.

One estimate suggests that three million people, half of those living in Hong Kong, might be able to leave if they wished to. Some are expatriates, some are Hong Kong Chinese with the right of residence elsewhere, the bulk are Hong Kong families with close relatives in Canada, the United States, Australia and Britain. It is their decision which matters now. If they begin to pull out in large numbers during 1996, the Chinese will be to blame and the Hong Kong that they take over in 1997 will be a shadow of its former self.

Hong Kong people will be watching what decisions the Chinese make on questions like the right of residence abroad. That is vital because it is a kind of guarantee that free movement, and if it comes to that, escape, will be possible in the future. But it is a distressing prospect to a regime that, like all authoritarian states, abhors anything smacking of dual citizenship, so inconvenient when you want to do something like, say, arrest somebody.

They will be waiting for a decision on the next chief executive to see whether he is a serious person or a yes-man. And they will be watching the more informal advance of Chinese agencies, behind their various business fronts, in Hong Kong to see whether they play by the rules or begin to cheat and use muscle.

Only a few Hong Kong people will make their decisions about staying or leaving on the basis of democratic ideals. But they will make them on the basis of whether Hong Kong is going to be a reasonable place to live and do business in, or a cockpit of contending Chinese interests under the thin cover of a sham autonomy.

Larry King, the head of a major Chinese-controlled investment corporation, who has been in Hong Kong since 1978, may have gone native, or may be playing a long game. But, in an interview last month, he put the problem succinctly. "The general thinking," he said, "is that if China allows interference in Hong Kong, then investment will be down, confidence will be lost, and Hong Kong will go down." Is anybody in Beijing listening?

If only Tony was woman enough

Rattling the bars



Ian Aitken

AT THE risk of incurring the displeasure of the sisterhood, this column feels bound to express its muted approval of the recent ruling that Labour's policy of women-only shortlists in winnable constituencies is illegal. No matter how high-minded the intention — to get a fairer representation of women in Parliament — it was an obvious infringement of the rights of individual men in favour of the collective rights of women.

What's more, the experience of hawking yourself unsuccessfully round dozens of constituency selections is by no means confined to women aspirants. You only need to read Roy Hattersley's memoirs to confirm that he tried 24 before he found a winnable berth.

But there is no denying that there is a prejudice against women in the grass roots of both parties, or that the membership of the Commons is grossly and damagingly distorted. Correcting this distortion plainly can't be left to natural progress, for it is already nearly 70 years since women first got the vote, and nothing much has happened.

So some positive action is clearly needed. But what should it be, if the parties are to be debarrred from exercising positive discrimination in favour of women?

I make no claims to originality, but I have long believed that there is a simple though extremely radical solution. It involves a major change in electoral law, but that should be no deterrent to New Labour; Tony Blair is already pledged to sweeping constitutional reforms.

So I suggest that a Blair government should redraw constituency boundaries so as to halve the number of parliamentary seats, and decree that each would henceforth be represented by one male MP and one female MP. The

successful man in each case would be the one who got more votes than any other man, while the successful woman would be one with more votes than any other woman. All electors would be able to vote for one candidate of each sex. Simple, isn't it? But I don't suppose it will happen. And even if it does, the next problem would be finding enough women willing to take up such a weird profession as politics. Most of them have more sense.

□ WHATEVER else it may mean, Tony Blair's Big Idea of the stakeholder society doesn't sound much like any version of socialism I have ever encountered. So John Major's attempt to portray it as a mad lurch back into Labour's "bad old ways" looked pretty silly. Not quite so silly, however, as the Daily Telegraph's equal and opposite attempt on its front page to label an article written by Mr Blair as a bid to be the true inheritor of Thatcherism.

Luckily, the article had been written for the Telegraph, and it appeared in full on an inside page. Readers were therefore able to examine the text in detail, so as to establish the truth or falsehood of the front page headline.

After three readings, I couldn't detect the slightest evidence for the Telegraph's claim. Yet the front page version was taken up by the BBC's Today programme, and formed the basis for endless breakfast-time argy-bargy with people like Michael Howard.

Next day, the Telegraph was extravagantly praising Lady Thatcher for her mischievous Keith Joseph lecture. Which, if they really believe what they said about him, must mean they also approve of a "Thatcherite" Blair.

Meanwhile, it's just as well Mr Blair wrote an article for the Telegraph, instead of making a speech. At least they printed it.

□ THE BBC claims to go to enormous lengths to get its pronunciation right. So why does virtually everyone at the corporation mispronounce the European measure of distance? Even quite grand newscasters now say kil-O-metre, emphasising the second syllable instead of the first.

This American usage implies that a kilometre is an instrument for measuring the number of kills rather than a Napoleonic measure of distance.

Smallweed



ALMOST unnoticed in England, John Major has increased the number of Lord Mackays in his beleaguered administration from an unexpected two to a gob-smacking three. To his Lord Chancel-

lor, Lord Mackay of Clashfern, and his social security minister, Lord Mackay of Ardbrecknish, he has added as his new Advocate-General (Scotland's answer to the Attorney-General) Lord Mackay of Drumadoon. He also has as yet unannounced Tory whip called Andrew Mackay.

Is it not yet one more sign of the intellectual bankruptcy and lack of imagination of Major that he surrounds himself with Mackays? Is there anything in Hayek, or for that matter Thucydides, Montaigne or Kipling, to sanction this practice? I'm surprised that the self-styled Chief Stoker failed to make this part of Thursday's indictment.

DESCRIBING himself as a stoker is, by the way, a more accurate admission of what Margaret Thatcher is up to than many have twigged. Its original

meaning is to pierce, or even more precisely, to stab — as in: "Sethin with a stoke to him he stert/ And smate the geant unto the heer" (16th century.) A secondary definition is "to stir up". Others secretly knew this, and revelled in seeing John Major effectively stabbed. Such people were deeply stirred, most of all when she said that the party was unpopular "above all because the middle class, and those who aspire to join the middle class, feel that they no longer have the incentives and opportunities they expect from a Conservative government."

The dream of a sometime return from the dead, which once attached to King Arthur, has been reawakened among devotees of the Stoker. As one blabbering sycophant put it in yesterday's Mail: why did she have to address us as an el-

der stateswoman, rather than as Prime Minister? Why had we been such fools as to let her go?"

There's a simple answer: her party let her go (le booted her out) because she was wrecking it, and threatening them with oblivion. The middle class and those who aspired to join it were getting scared out of their wits by the threat to their jobs and the threat to their homes through mortgage costs soaring way out of reach. They were also determined to be rid of the poll tax. In electoral terms, either she went, or they did. Sethin, it had to be her.

FOR A HORRIBLE moment yesterday morning, Smallweed even found himself feeling a smidgeon sorry for Dr Brian Mawhinney. More and more, the precedents for the present state of the Tory party seem to belong

less to political history than to Greek tragedy. The role of the Stoker, especially — so apparently set on contriving the doom of her political son and heir. Recalling that Medea did away with two (at least) of her sons, Smallweed yesterday turned for guidance to the Department of Media Studies at the University of Grantham. They demurred at this comparison. Look rather, they said, at the story of Thetis — like Thatcher, a goddess who married a mortal. She required her sons to be immortal, like her. So she thrust them into the fire; where they all died, apart from Achilles, whose defence she was said to have strengthened by smothering him in ambrosia. Unconfirmed reports say that both Newt Redwood and Newt Portillo turned up on the Stoker's doorstep yesterday morning equipped with

vast vats of ambrosia. £5 will be paid for any reliable sightings used in this column.

SOME ANALYSTS argued yesterday that the Lady's reference to stoking had some subliminal link with the Labour party's new-found interest in stakeholding. As often with New Labour, the term is a little ambiguous, but appears originally to have had something to do with betting ("Our landlord should hold stakes, and I will stake down gold till I send the linen" — Sir W. Scott). Other definitions include "the see of a Mormon bishop," and "a small envil used by metal workers, especially one with a tang for fitting into a socket", but neither, I understand, quite catches the essence of what Tony Blair has in mind. That Stake-holding's catching on, however, is clear

from the latest in Smallweed's unique statistical series of etymological catchings-on. The Financial Times Profile service logged 13 stories referring to stakeholders in selected British newspapers in October; 23 in November; 35 in December; but a whopping 78 in the first 12 days of this year. I think this probably qualifies as an epidemic. Even that, though, is vastly preferable to the present epidemic of "in your face" experiences which now litter the prizes, as in "the in-your-face violence" of Sir Harrison Birtwistle's Panic, referred to in yesterday's Guardian.

SMALLWEED once shared an office with reporters from the Mail, who used to inquire of the news desk before they embarked on a story: "What's our angle on this?" I've been wondering this

week what their angle would be on Hell. Given their constant warfare on trendy clerics, and their plangent appeals for a national return to old-time religion, you'd expect them to be all for it. On the other hand, there may be those on the Mail who sometimes fail to honour all 10 commandments; especially, perhaps — even, it's said, at the very highest levels of the organisation — number seven.

We have yet, since the appearance of the new Church of England report, to be given an unambiguous editorial lead. But I note that the concept of Hell as eternally endorsed yesterday by one of their visiting moralists, the novelist Piers Paul Read. Meanwhile, watch out for arguments, watch out for arguments, I'm told they're thinking of despatching a staff correspondent.

صلى الله عليه وسلم

Siren calls to her party

Martin Kettle

SEENING the Place de la Bastille packed with people mourning François Mitterrand this week it was difficult not to wonder whether the passing of any British politician could ever command an equivalent popular response here.

The big test of this tasteless speculation, of course, concerns the likely popular response in the event of the death of Margaret Thatcher.

The problem with having few friends, yet many acquaintances who have ever had a good word to say about Margaret Thatcher, is that it is hard to know how far anyone else still takes her seriously.

From the moment she became leader of the Conservative Party, Thatcher's leadership was inebriated by the myth of her popularity.

Thatcher herself was never loved and followed in quite the way that she and her myth-makers would like us to believe.

Thatcher has now adopted a position so far to the right that John Major had no hesitation in denouncing it from the heart yesterday.

believe, a point of no return in the modern decline of the Tory party. It does so because on Thursday Thatcher needlessly faced the party with a no-win alternative.

I have said it was unforgivable and needless. And yet it was also psychologically inevitable. The Thatcher legacy and myth are so potent within the Conservative Party.

Until now all Conservatives have always seen themselves as the party of the nation in the fullest possible sense — both as defenders of the nation in the world and as the embodiment of the whole nation to itself.

Yet on Thursday Thatcher herself cavalierly spurned the whole idea of One Nation. She did so because of two obsessions which she seems unable and unwilling to restrain.

FOR any Conservatives of her generation, to deny One Nation Conservatism as sweepingly and as illogically as this is extraordinary.

But the gulf between Thatcherism and the Labour Party is now cavernous. They speak for two separate nations — between whom there is no intercession and no sympathy.



What an eye for... wives of former Royston miners give the Bare Necessities their approval after a preview of the ITV drama in the village pub

PHOTOGRAPH: DENIS THORPE

You can't strip the spirit

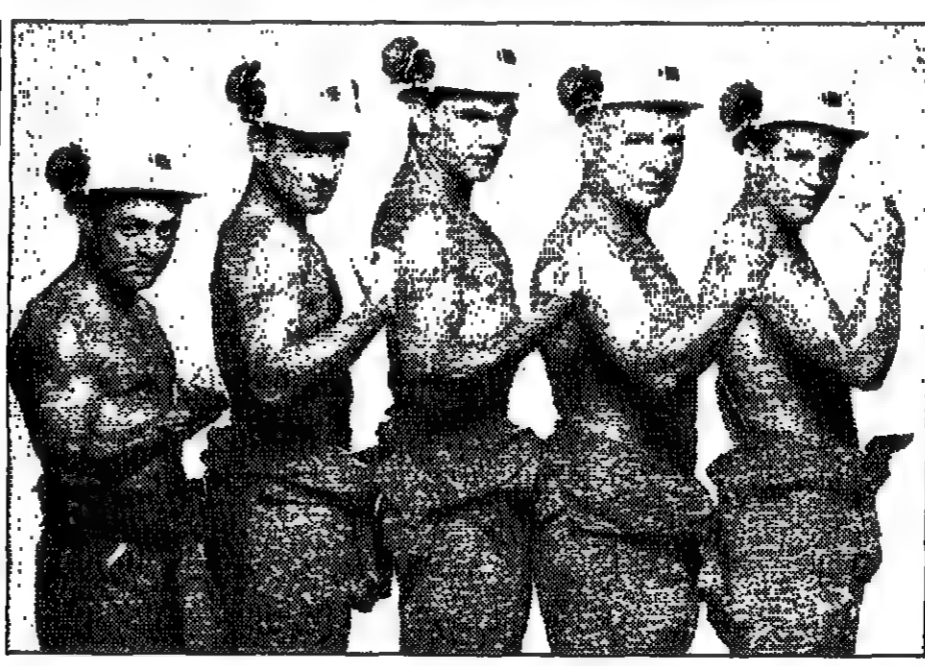
The pit village that inspired the Chippendale miners is just as robust as its TV portrayal, says MARTIN WAINWRIGHT

IT SOUNDED gruesomely patronising on the face of it, not to say gross — a TV "comedy" about Yorkshire miners setting up as a male stripping club.

No wonder that writer Ken Blakeson was wishing he was anywhere but the smoky bar of the Ship Hotel, Barnsley.

Then the lights went down and the first hairy navel of Ken's Bare Necessities shimmered across the pub's TV.

"Margaret Thatcher set out to break communities, to make it each for themselves," said June Greenall, enthroned with the women's committee under a blackboard offering pie and peas for a pound.



Life in the raw... the fictional out-of-work miners turned strippers

are credit enough to South Yorkshire physique, but the real star is the coalfield's rock-like friendliness. Everyone, almost, keeps an affectionate eye on everyone else's back.

Blakeson, who did five years on the Street, had the instinct instilled in him young, when he grew up in rural Kirk Deighton, North Yorkshire.

Geordie, Irish, Scottish, county Durham and God knows what other family roots softens Yorkshire's famous, monosyllabic grumpiness.

Blakeson's wife, who has been a community worker since 1985, he says, pointing to a big photograph by the bar, with himself as an NUM official striding in the front row.

He is in this village called Waterhouses. I was fascinated by miners and the strength of the community. When I got to Sons and Lovers at school, I remember thinking 'Hey, I know what this is about.'

His first marriage ended after seven years, when he left for Chicago. Hockenberry married again five months ago and now lives with his wife Alison in Manhattan.

Like many journalists, John Hockenberry has reported on wars around the world. Unlike the rest, he's in a wheelchair. MAGGIE O'KANE reports

The battle for a second life

WHEN John Hockenberry rolled out of the lift of one of the most gloomy hotels in the world, the intercontinental in Bucharest, the blood of Nicolas and Elena Ceausescu was still drying after their farmyard execution.

Hockenberry was one of the first journalists to make it to the capital when the dying regime was thrashing around during its dangerous last hours.

A year later, as the beggling hordes of the press marshalled outside the Iraqi embassy in Amman, offering their body and soul for an entry visa for the Big War, Hockenberry was there again. The Iraqis, ignor-

ing the pleas of the beautiful local women employed by US television networks to extract visas from the corrupt Mr Adnan, lifted Hockenberry, babbling good-naturedly in crooked Arabic, above the heads of the grumpy press and into the embassy.

John Hockenberry is a paraplegic. Just below his nipples his body packed in, after a car accident, almost 20 years ago. He has been Middle East correspondent for National Public Radio, covered wars and revolutions all over the world and now, at the age of 38, is a correspondent for NBC television; presents a radio

show; is working on a second book and next month his first one-man show on the Gulf War opens in New York. He has covered the Ayatollah's funeral, where he was pushed through the crowd in his wheelchair by a friendly Iranian chanting "Death to all Americans".

John Hockenberry's life is the classic fable of triumph over adversity but his book escapes the clichés because of its honesty and brutal irreverence. Above all Hockenberry is irreverent about himself.

sets with his guitar and his friend Rick. They were picked up by Peggy Zinn, a student on her way to New York. Peggy fell asleep at the wheel and the car sailed off the mountain and into the gorge cutting into Hockenberry's spinal cord as it hit ground.

He started angry. When in the morning in hospital, only his head moved. In the next bed was Roger. He was dressed first because he took the most time to be washed, fed and have his batteries plugged in.



Never missed a deadline... Hockenberry

jured. The distance in our lives could not be measured. Roger went off to live in a nursing home.

His career began as a radio journalist on the telephone. National Public Radio in Washington took his radio reports from Oregon for months, not knowing that he was paralysed.

Hockenberry's battle since has been to be allowed to pat his own leg. His problem now is not his legs but other people's minds.

His first marriage ended after seven years, when he left for Chicago. Hockenberry married again five months ago and now lives with his wife Alison in Manhattan.

"I suppose being a journalist was a way of proving something but now it's gone past that. It's insulting for me to turn up in northern Iraq, where all these people are dying and say: 'Look at what I'm doing in a wheelchair.' I understood then that you had better have a good reason to go to these places, otherwise you are insulting people."

wheelchair once, as though afraid to mention the name of a relative who had just died.

Before the tears came, Hockenberry's mind drifted back to the mud in Romania, the bullets, the gasoline bombs blazing in Gaza.

"All along, I had wanted their unshattering confidence. In a moment I realised that it was probably unobtainable."

"I don't give a shit now about the back in the wheelchair stuff. I'm always going to get asked those questions and have someone saying hey, he's just like someone you can walk. I can't walk and I think I'd probably be a pretty boring guy if I could."

Declarations of Independence by John Hockenberry is published by Viking/Penguin, £16

Women MPs: the struggle continues

DIANA MADDOCK'S holier-than-thou condemnation of the Labour Party's efforts to get more women into Parliament obscures the real issue of an inbuilt bias towards men in selection of candidates by individual constituencies, especially where the seat is winnable (Letters, January 10). In a high proportion of cases, selection turns on ability to build local power bases rather than democracy and merit.

Labour did take legal advice before implementing the decision, and I wonder if the recent Industrial Tribunal would have taken a different view if it had been made up of women. It can be argued that being a candidate is not a job as such, and the selection of the candidate. Similarly, Labour might be seen to be offering, say, 100 possible jobs as MP, and taking on 50 men and 50 women — equal opportunity, not sex discrimination.

It is sad that a radical attempt to redress the abysmal dearth of women MPs may have been suppressed by some men need to cling to their local power bases rather than take their chances in other available seats, as women usually have to do.

Lynne Armstrong, Labour Prospective Parliamentary Candidate, Havant, Portsmouth PO3 6PN.

MPs when women make up more than 20 per cent of the population? Would attacks on lone parents have occurred to such an extent if there were more women in Parliament? Would there be such barbed policies in respect of women in prison giving birth if there was a stronger representation by women in politics?

One of the main barriers to women securing more seats in Parliament is the unfair electoral system and Labour has had to operate quotas in this system. Norway and Sweden have used quotas to increase the number of women MPs successfully within a list system of proportional representation.

Sally Stepanian, Women's Officer, Labour Campaign for Electoral Reform, Gwentbrook Road, Chillwell, Nottingham.

COMMENDING the Leeds industrial tribunal's ruling, Ann Carlton called on the 34 candidates so far selected to demand re-election on a "fair basis," adding that "I suspect most of them would have won anyway". Perhaps, but unfortunately the circumstances are otherwise.

According to *Waller and Criddle's* recently published *Almanac of British Politics*, apart from the above 34, just two women Labour candidates had been selected up to October 1995 in the 100 most marginal Conservative seats. They were a former MP, Sylvia Heal, and party fundraiser and electoral adviser, Barbara Follett — compared to 16 men, a fraction which almost exactly matches that of existing women MPs.

Chris Game, School of Public Policy, The University of Birmingham, Edgbaston, Birmingham B15 2TT.

SHALL we now see a comparable ruling that also male shortlists are also illegal?

Dr Eilary Gee, Lynton Camp, Bayston Hill, Shrewsbury, Shropshire SY3 0LW.

YOUR report is wrong to state that an all-women shortlist was "imposed by Walworth Road" on Keighley (Court loses upset shortlist, January 9). The decision to put Keighley forward was made quite properly by a majority of the constituency's executive officers (of whom I was one). An appeal must surely succeed or the Act be reworded so that its authors' intentions cannot be frustrated by reactionary mischief-makers.

Jan Williams, Riversdale, Ferncliffe Drive, Keighley, W Yorks BD20 9HN.

WOMEN had to struggle to get the vote and now taken seriously in politics. Can anyone argue that it is fair for there to be 9 per cent women

Psychiatrists target The Archers

WE ARE worried about Kate Aldridge in *The Archers* on Radio 4. She was found comatose following an overdose of tablets, hospitalised and subsequently discharged. Now there appears to be collusion in denial about the seriousness of her actions amongst her family and the village.

Unfortunately the story-line so far has resulted in increased attention for Kate, with little thought given to the potential lethality of her actions or alternative strategies of coping with stress.

Thus, by default, *The Archers* is promoting the act of taking an overdose as a potential solution to the problems of growing up.

It is a shame that an opportunity to be educative on the important matter of teenage self-harm is being wasted. (Dr) Nick Goddard, Child Psychiatrist, Devon Taylor Social Worker in Child Psychiatry, Belgrave Department of Child & Family Psychiatry, Kings College Hospital, London SE5 9RS.

Make money with your home computer

By Michael Simpson

Most of us invest in a personal computer to make our lives easier. To help with finances and correspondence perhaps. It may be an educational tool for children or simply provide amusement with fun games and puzzles. But now there is another far more rewarding way to use your home computer.

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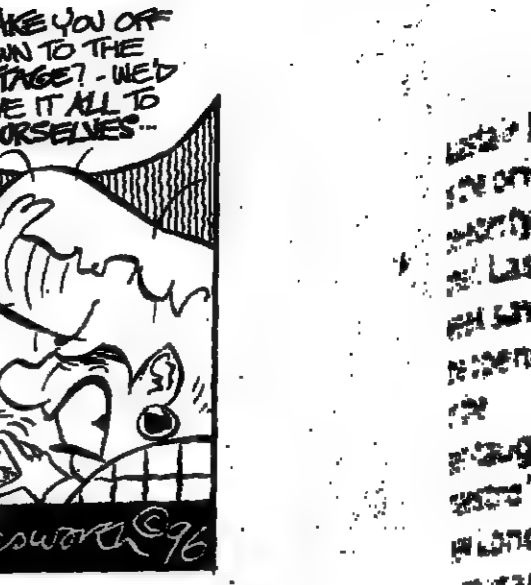
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Competing claims on a dig

GEORGE MONBIOT'S article (A monumental mistake, January 10) was simplistic and glib. In a country with a very long history of human settlement like Britain, virtually the entire landscape can be regarded as an archaeological palimpsest and so almost any development could be regarded as consisting of an assault on the archaeological fabric of the nation.

The idea that there is a fixed amount of archaeology gradually being whittled away is a nonsense — archaeological survey is continually adding new sites and areas to the sum of archaeological knowledge and, in many cases, some of these would actually have remained unknown without development activities.

If we were to take the Upan view of Monbiot and stop all degradation of the material evidence of past human activity, one would have to prescribe just about every ground disturbance activity there is — including archaeology.

Most professionals believe that, in a crowded island, a sense of proportion is required — after all, what are archaeological remains for? Material for helping us understand better our remote past, or just a playground for alternative lifestyles to indulge in fancy role play?

Dr Colin Wells, Archaeological Unit, Lancaster University, Lancaster LA1 4YW.

ALTHOUGH much of what George Monbiot says is correct, I do not think that archaeologists have been unconcerned about environmental issues. I myself will shortly be arguing at the Hearings Bypass public enquiry that the bypass should be stopped on archaeological grounds.

Even so, it is true that there are strong pressures preventing the archaeological community from speaking out. Those who work in the field are, as often as not, funded by developers — thus, when the eighties boom ended, hundreds of archaeologists became redundant.

As contractors to developers, there are temptations to minimise the importance of what is found. It is, perhaps, a coincidence that one course in archaeology at the University of Bournemouth has been sponsored by the British Builders' Federation. To make matters worse, there are now many "cowboy" archaeological contractors who will do the bidding of developers cheaply and with minimal "fuss".

Similarly, English Heritage is a fairly weak advocate, no doubt because it is funded by HMG. Nevertheless, and perhaps slightly contrary to George Monbiot's implication, they have taken a strong line over Stonehenge and are in direct conflict with DoT/Highways Agency.

In point of fact, the policy guidance from DoE and EH says that there should always be a reservation for the preservation of "rationally important archaeological remains". The actual practice is that such sites are often destroyed because they are found too late in the development process. In this respect the Westhampton site on the A37 near Chichester would be a case in point — during excavations just prior to the construction of the road, the archaeological contractor found a Late Iron Age cemetery which was arguably the most important ever found in Britain. By rights it should have been preserved but, given that the road was already under construction, the site had to be hastily excavated and was subsequently destroyed. This is, I suspect, a far from unusual occurrence.

Dr Paul Graves-Brown, Dept of Psychology, University of Southampton, Highfield, Southampton SO17 1BJ.

Sanctions aren't working but the cure for Gulf War Syndrome is

THE people of Iraq have now suffered five years of sanctions as a means of bringing Saddam Hussein in line with UN directives (Leader, January 10). They have been starved on minimal rations; hospitals are desperately short of even the most basic equipment such as syringes and anaesthetics; the infant mortality rate is the highest in the world and the exchange rate of the Iraqi dinar, which was once equal to £2, is now exchanged at over 3,000 to £1. With most salaries still measured in hundreds of dinars, most people have resorted to trading all their domestic goods for a little food.

Despite all the predictions, Saddam Hussein is still firmly in place. The Western powers have not provided either moral or material support to any of the opposition groups in Iraq. Support of the Kurds in the north of Iraq would displace our Nato ally, Turkey, and support for the Shia in the south would frighten our oil-rich friends in the Gulf.

It is now time for the UN to lift the sanctions against Iraq and allow free sale of its oil reserves. This need not mean opening the door for rearmament of Iraq as an effective arms embargo could prevent the sale of heavy weapons to Iraq. At the same time the UN should guarantee the sovereignty of Iraq within its present borders to forestall any break-up of the state which would precipitate long-term instability in the Middle East.

Continuation of the sanctions will not force Saddam to heel as he can survive indefinitely on the limited trade now operating across the borders with Jordan and Turkey but it will mean the deaths of thousands more innocent children.

Dr R Eccles, 48 Nicholson Webb Close, Danescourt, Cardiff CF5 2RL.

YOUR report on Gulf War Illness (GWI) (Cure claim for Gulf War Syndrome, January 3) indicates that Dr H Urnovitz "has found the cause and potential treatment of Gulf War Syndrome." Over

50,000 US veterans and as many as 3,000 British veterans of Operation Desert Storm have unknown debilitative chronic illness, and they are very interested in finding out what is wrong with them and how it can be successfully treated. However, Dr Urnovitz did not find the cause or a potential treatment for GWI. He contacted us and simply followed our published advice on GWI. Some of the patients that he reported on were previously tested and were undergoing our suggested therapy. Our published study on 650 soldiers and their immediate family members who suffer from GWI indicates that these veterans had chronic signs and symptoms almost identical to Chronic Fatigue Immune Dysfunction Syndrome (CFIDS). The symptoms are aching joints, chronic fatigue, memory loss, sleep difficulties, headaches, skin rashes, diarrhoea, vision problems, nausea, breathing problems and others.

The most common infection found thus far has been an unusual micro-organism, *Mycoplasma fermentans* (inocuous strain), found in the white blood cells of GWI patients. We have found that about one-half of the GWI/CFIDS patients have this infection, and it can be successfully treated with multiple courses of antibiotics, such as doxycycline, ciprofloxacin or azithromycin. Of 75 Gulf war veterans and their family members with GWI/CFIDS, 85 eventually recovered after several courses of antibiotics. Prof Garth L. Nicolson, The University of Texas MD Anderson Cancer Center, 1515 Holcombe Boulevard, Houston, Texas 77030, United States.

Act of mercy

NOT too long ago I attended a study in Covent Garden of *Katya Kabanov* (A) and *Mystery* (A) at the opera. In an act with a real old wooden cart and a large old cart-horse, the stage had to be reinforced at enormous cost by specially-made steel plates. Our lecturer took our acceptance of this for granted. Could we have got around that money is being squandered on such whims which could be better spent on the many, very low-paid employees?

William Wild, 2 Wychwood Way, Northwood, Middx HA8 1EJ.

I saw Chinese orphans abused

LAST YEAR, while living in a study in Covent Garden, I visited an orphanage over a period of four months and saw devastating signs of maltreatment and neglect (*Mystery of the 'missing' orphans*, January 10).

In the four rooms (babies, toddlers, disabled, older children) there was nothing to play with and often no workers in evidence. There were signs of malnutrition and of dehydration. Very young babies were visibly fed from bottles. On one occasion, some of the older children discovered a scorpion which they divided up and ate with relish.

Some of the toddlers had signs of rickets. A girl whose internal worms were left lying in a pool of faeces and scabious potted sores were left untreated.

The children had no clothing of their own. Clothes for boys and for girls were kept in one cupboard and boys might be given dresses or skirts to wear. This clothing was often substantial and during the freezing winter months, when the heating was very poor, frostbite caused the toe of a four-year-old girl to fall off. Cuts and bruises suggested that there were spats of violence among the children or from the workers.

There was overwhelming evidence that systematic killing did take place. In one week leading up to the festival ironically known as Children's Day when senior party officials visited the orphanage, 15 infants died and some of the most severely disabled children "disappeared". By the time of the visit, there were very few infants left in the baby unit where previously there had been around 20.

The situation flourishes to cover up conditions even to senior party officials.

I only hope that the current shock wave will produce positive action.

Name and address supplied.

AS AN adoptive parent it is with some unease that I see Chinese babies are again making the news as being available for adoption. I fully appreciate the plight of these children, and the good intentions of the majority of people who wish to adopt.

However, anyone who thinks that "love is enough" in overcoming differences in race, culture or even class is naive. To write off the culture into which a child was born is to write off a central part of who they are. It requires an enormous amount of work to provide such children with both an understanding of their birth culture, a sense of identity and self-esteem.

Adopted children, no matter how badly treated by their birth parents, have extremely strong feelings of attachment to them.

My own adopted son has had many difficulties in coming to terms with who he is and where he belongs — and this has been without the added complication of race. There are lots of children here in Britain waiting for adoption. The majority are not babies — and so perhaps are not so attractive a commodity. But adoption should not just be about fulfilling adult desires to have a baby, nor about romantic ideals of rescuing children from a culture we deem to be in order to feel superior.

Name and address supplied.

Chains shame

WE HAVE come a long way years ago, when most pregnant women imprisoned in Holloway were allowed temporary release to attend antenatal classes at the Whittington Hospital to improve their confidence and self-esteem, and were never chained to prison officers (The shame I felt in chains, January 11).

Head of Communications, NACRO, 189 Clapham Road, London SW9 9PU.

WHEN I gave birth to my daughter at the Whittington Hospital, north London, in June last year I saw three pregnant women in handcuffs. (The shame I felt in chains, January 11). No regard was given to their physical or mental well-being by those who shackled them. It also had a knock-on effect for myself. My immense joy at the birth of my child was tempered by the knowledge that other women were being treated like cattle.

What made it worse was that I witnessed at night the two prison officers accompanying each woman sleep on duty while the prisoner was expected to rest bound in chains. So much for security.

Lorna Reid, Fitfield House, Highbury Estate, London N5.

SHEEM to have missed the headlines, to say nothing of your long accounts of the stress Annette and her husband caused their victims. Perhaps you could remind us of their offences?

A J Woods, Fyfehouse, Hartsdale, Durham DH1.

A Country Diary

MACHYNLLETH: If, all day Tuesday, I was deep in one of the greater conifer plantations hereabouts, it was because all day Monday it had rained. We may not always enjoy so much rain in one day but it is very good for waterfalls and on Tuesday that was what my walk was all about. I was a few miles north of Dol-gellau in a district that, for 200 years, has been a Mecca for waterfall enthusiasts. Starting from a Forestry Commission picnic site, I was faced with the problem of finding my way to the falls. Had I been an 18th century visitor I would have hired a guide at the local inn. But on Tuesday all I had was a rather old map which was not going to be much help in getting me through the spruce jungle to where the River Maddach comes cascading from the uplands.

It did not take me long to get completely lost among the evergreens and I was begin-

WILLIAM CONDRY

Genes for sale – but whose DNA is it anyway?

Life is money. Or so it seems, as European and American researchers fight over patents for genes that may hold the key to the treatment of major diseases and thus be worth billions to the drug companies. **TIM RADFORD reports**

LIFE is what you make of it, then very shortly the fashionable thing to make of life will be money. Life is ordered by DNA, but the research costs dollars and deutschmarks and, in the end, investors and taxpayers want their pound of flesh.

The latest flurry in the who-owns-humans show is about a gene called BRCA2. This is responsible for about 1,800 of the 4,000 deaths from hereditary breast cancer in Britain each year, including, unusually, about 100 men and researchers in the US and in Britain are caught up in a patent battle.

The gene was found by the Institute of Cancer Research in Sutton, Surrey, with money provided by the Cancer Research Campaign. The CRC has applied for patents on the gene, covering the future development of diagnostic

tests. But the British scientists had originally been collaborating with a team from Utah who founded a company called Myriad.

The partnership broke up when the Utah end of the alliance applied for a patent on the first breast cancer gene BRCA1 and the British scientists felt they should not. To make things even more confusing, the Utah team are trying to patent BRCA2 in the US, claiming that they found it. No, say the British researchers, Sutton got there first.

But whose knowledge is it anyway? The race to decipher the entire human blueprint – two billion bits of DNA, 100,000 genes, and 10,000 genes implicated in human suffering – involves universities, governments, charities and drug companies from 20 nations, working in co-operation.

When the race began, the position was clear: knowledge was for everybody, exploitation was for afterwards. But soon it became clear that whoever had knowledge could sit on it and have a head start when it came to cashing in. European scientists have one philosophy, and the European Patent Office has one set of rules. American scientists have mixed feelings, but the US biotechnology companies don't, and they have recourse to the US Patent Office, which has a different set of rules anyway. So a clash was coming.

There was another problem. BRCA2's discoverer, Dr Mike Stratton, put it neatly at a time that the two teams found BRCA1. Patents are for inventions which are both useful and novel. "We do not believe pieces of the human genome are inventions. We feel it is a form of colonisation to patent

them," he said. This view was not shared by his former research partners.

Nor was it shared, for instance, by Craig Venter of the US National Institutes of Health, who upset the research world earlier in the decade by trying to patent 35,000 lengths of DNA that could be used to "stick" to 35,000 genes and mark them for researchers. No one had a clue what these genes might do, but these special fragments would be part of the knowledge – and part of the exploitation. He joined a commercial company and now says that anyone who wants them for research can have them – but that researcher comes up with a test or treatment for a disease, money must be discussed.

Something like this was coming anyway. The Imperial Cancer Research Fund – a

big player in the hunt for the entire human genetic code, and a player too in the hunt for both the BRCA1 and BRCA2 genes – doesn't squabble with the notion that someone, somewhere, must use the knowledge to devise therapies for inherited illnesses. A successful treatment could take 10 years and cost \$400 million to develop. "If you want to get knowledge about a disease translated into benefits for people you have two options," said an ICRF spokesman. "One is a totalitarian state, and the other is a pharmaceutical industry. Which would you rather have?"

Professor Gordon McVie of the CRC says, "At the moment, it is a mess. There seems to be no clear European position. There is a very clear American position, there is no dispute about that. The question is whether homo sapiens is to

be an American property. The view of our patent advisers is that it could take years before any of these patents go through all the legal procedures. In the meantime, they hope the European and American views will be reconciled and there will be a world position on who owns the human genome."

There needs to be. Biotechnological life – sheep with human hormones, pigs with human-compatible hearts, cotton which will survive weedkiller sprays, superalloy, slow-ripening bananas, artificial human skin – is on the way. Billions have been invested, but so far almost the only fruit on the market is a tomato which ripens without going squishy. Everybody wants to know what the ground rules should be.

In the case of human genetic research, it is even more

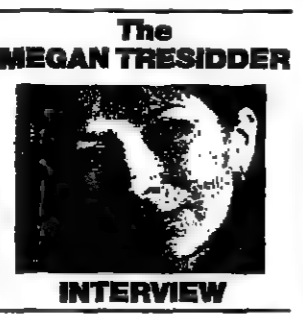
important. It now seems clear that not just cystic fibrosis and Huntington's chorea but propensities to most cancers, to stroke, to heart disease, even to athlete's foot, may depend on the genetic package each of us is born with. The research is not even primarily about money. It is about suffering.

It began because scientists wanted to do something to help families who suffered from hereditary diseases. But that meant basic research, and biology doesn't get more basic than the DNA code. Researchers everywhere began sharing the results, not just with each other, but with anyone who asked. The knowledge was built, bottom up, by people who weren't thinking of money. But drug companies think of almost nothing else, which is why the research is heading for crisis.

Professor McVie thinks the answer will be provided by the politicians. "There is a view that all the genetic sequences should be made available as fast as possible and the patents people should set their mind to how they can still allow patenting of use of the sequences."

This would give the commercial firms the incentive they needed. The breast cancer genes could turn out to be implicated in other cancers as well – prostate, ovarian melanoma etc. Megabucks beckon. Professor McVie and the Cancer Research Campaign are just as interested as Myriad in making money from the research. "The difference being that the money coming to the Cancer Research Campaign goes straight back into science," he says. "That going to Myriad goes to its shareholders."

Alastair Little is the original celebrity chef. Last week saw the opening of the self-taught maestro's new London restaurant



INTERVIEW



I'm fed up with ladies who pick' chef of chefs, Alastair Little DAVID BILLOTTE

Cream of the chefs goes for cheap chic

CHEFS. Pretty straightforward subjects, really. There is, you would have thought, Little mystery about what they do. Chefs cook. They may also appear on TV, write recipe books, and take offence at diners who ask for ketchup but, most of all, they cook.

Not any more. Before the revolution in British eating, chefs always cooked, doing it discreetly behind the kitchen's swinging doors. Then, in the early eighties, a number of bright young cooks emerged from their kitchens in their off-stained aprons to preach liberation from the hegemony of stuffy, grande cuisine. They so tingled our palates that we cried out for more and the new chef-stars started to spread their influence, opening new restaurants alongside their original ones. And, since a chef cannot be in two kitchens at once, the word chef – when applied to a celebrity chef – has had to be redefined. A famous chef cooks, but not necessarily at the restaurant where you have gone to honour him. If a famous chef's "signature" dish appears on the menu, be warned: it may well be a lithograph.

Alastair Little is the original celebrity chef. When he opened Alastair Little's in Frith Street, Soho, in 1985, he was the first to put his own name above the door. With its

minimalist interior, and eclectic post-modern menu, it was a hit – and widely copied. Now, Little has just opened his second restaurant, near where he lives, in Notting Hill Gate. It is a relatively modest expansion (Anthony Worrall Thompson has four restaurants, at the last count) but Little calls both restaurants after himself, which takes chutzpah.

On the day of our meeting, Kirsten Bedersen, one of his business partners and formerly his personal partner by whom he has two children, is also there. So too is Little's head chef, Toby Gush. A knife grinder wanders in looking for business. Little tells him he doesn't want his knives ground, thanks. The grinder presses him. "Do you use someone else then, or do you just not bother?"

It is like asking the Pope whether he bothers to pray. Little, everyone agrees, has had a huge influence on restaurants with his intellectually curious approach to food and his clean, precise style. He didn't get to be called the "Godfather of modern British cooking" for not bothering about his knives.

He does not look much like a chef. He is thin, 45, with a faint Lancashire accent, and reminiscent of Kenny Everett with his beard and high-pitched giggle. He has to manoeuvre himself into his seat with the

help of a walking stick after a fall down stairs last summer left him with a broken heel (which explains his absence from the kitchen for the past six months, although his critics had been complaining of it well before). He is a likeable and open character, free of the pretensions of some famous chefs. A self-taught cook, he was never formally apprenticed, which may help account for his reputation as a paragon among chef-bosses, in an industry notorious for its brutal hierarchy and kitchen bullies.

There is just one fly in the soup of staff relations. When his first cookbook, *Keep It Simple*, was published three years ago, Little was accused by his own head-chef, Juliet Peston, of plagiarising her recipes. She had been at Frith Street for seven years until being made redundant, shortly before the book came out. "My cooking is rarely acknowledged as having contributed to Alastair's success," she said at the time. "The professional whose name is above the door gets the credit."

"The spat over the book was unfortunate and not entirely fair," he says. "Juliet is a very talented cook and she had an input and I credited her in the introduction. But it's hard to say who was responsible for what. There was a deep-fried pigeon that went back and forth between us in about

seven different incarnations... Anyway, it's all water under the bridge."

Peston agrees, sort of. She's back working for Little at Frith Street, in command of the kitchen. "We get on really well," she says, "but this is my kitchen. I won't stay here on any other basis and he knows that." "Though the place is still named after him. It's the same throughout the profession," she says, "though I do think it is perhaps a mistake to call the new restaurant, Alastair Little."

Unless Little plans to be full-time chef there? "Doubt it," says Little. "I've got two kitchens to run." He pauses, to redefine the word "run". "Well, I've got two chefs. Juliet is pretty well in charge at Frith Street. It's her food basically. And here I've got Toby Gush. He is the chef. I fancy doing the salad section or something." Otherwise, he says, his role is supervisory.

The new restaurant will offer a cheaper meal than at Frith Street – £20 for three courses. The idea, says Little, is to provide simple, homely food (scallops with lentils, salt cod, or a bit of lamb's brains "and BSE," says Little). The idea of the restaurant is also to inhibit customers from indulging in the increasingly common practice of eating two starters. "I am fed up with ladies who pick, like a certain princess who orders two salads and a bottle of mineral water and the bill is something like £2."

His prices have had a certain notoriety. In the late eighties, his restaurant was renowned for what reviewers called a bold pricing policy, with meals costing from £40 a head. "We charged what we had to, to keep going. There were high overheads. And, I suppose, I had a bit of an inflated ego. People were saying the food was great. There just didn't seem to be anything Juliet and I could not do."

Now, at Frith Street, the set price is £25, though with drink and coffee, it gets higher. "The average spend," says Little, "is about £38 which is fine."

It's still a lot. How does he justify the price? "About 25 per cent of the cost is wages. Your rent is about 10 per cent. The food and wine cost is 35 per cent. So that's 70 per cent. Then you have to take your money, pay for cleaning materials and so on. You probably make 8 to 10 per cent in a good year. I don't think that's a lot of profit."

Little, the son of a naval officer, was a child of the years EP (before polenta), when no one ever used the word foodie. His mother liked to experiment with dishes discovered on holiday "she would come back from Spain and make gazpacho – probably the only one at the time in Lancashire" but he was most inspired, he says, "by greed and by realising that there must be something more than

"I couldn't stomach school food. So by the age of 12, I was obsessed with what we were having for dinner"

school food, which I couldn't stomach. By the age of 12, I was obsessed with what we were having for dinner."

He studied archaeology and anthropology at Cambridge, though he spent his spare time with his Elizabeth David, making lavish dinners for his friends, the only student worrying about his real stock. After graduating, he flirted briefly with a career in film editing but his evening job as a waiter took over.

These were the days when the king-pins in the kitchens were twice his age, generally French and steeped in tradition – including the dubious practice of recycling vegetables from customers' plates or deep-frying rack of lamb when time was short. He shudders at

Advertisement

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Food for Thought

by **Vernon Coleman**

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Published by the European Medical Journal

Next month, what promises to be the exhibition of the year opens at the Tate. But what do people really think of Cézanne?

Is he the father of modern art?

PATRICK HERON, artist

ENDLESSLY poring over very bad reproductions in Fry's great book on Cézanne, when I was 12 or 13, gave me the introduction. But it was the sudden visual confrontation with the reality that changed my world for ever — and the reality was the Mont Sainte-Victoire which the Courtauld happened to be lending to the National Gallery one day in 1933 or 1934. From that moment on, the dry, square-ended, hatched strokes of opaque or transparent oil colour, lying side by side in a sort of rhythmic strata right across the surface of the painting were, for my eyes, the absolute key to reality — no matter what I looked

at. Henceforth Cézanne's unbelievably rhythmic strokes were everywhere. One did not have to travel south to the limestone rocks and the pine branches of Provence, whose bunched needles explode in Cézanne with the rhythms almost of moving smoke. No: the entire world was Cézanne — *elms in Hertfordshire*; my mother's apples; my father's nose — everything dissolved into those surfaces first imposed upon our senses by the Master of Aix. It was not for another five years that the entirely different, yet profoundly related colour and brush movements of another genius edged Cézanne to one side for me. His name: Henri Matisse.

DAVID MELLOR MP

CEZANNE has been described as the "least understood, most maligned and least exhibited" of the Impressionists. Certainly it is extraordinary that it is 60 years since the last exhibition of his work on this scale.

right technique makes him a more obvious pointer to what was to come, and a bridge between Impressionism and the art of the 20th century — hence the tag "the father of modern art". To me Cézanne's relative technical austerity gives a grave beauty and truthfulness to his work which has rarely been surpassed and seldom equalled. I especially love *Les Grandes Baigneuses*, perhaps because, as it is in the National Gallery, I am so familiar with it. I hope to make new discoveries at the Tate.

Cézanne is the least comfortable of the Impressionists, his works conveying little of the obvious hazy beauty of Monet and Renoir, who accordingly stand far higher in the esteem of a wider public. But to the connoisseur, Cézanne's sparer, more forth-

right technique makes him a more obvious pointer to what was to come, and a bridge between Impressionism and the art of the 20th century — hence the tag "the father of modern art". To me Cézanne's relative technical austerity gives a grave beauty and truthfulness to his work which has rarely been surpassed and seldom equalled. I especially love *Les Grandes Baigneuses*, perhaps because, as it is in the National Gallery, I am so familiar with it. I hope to make new discoveries at the Tate.

LIZ LOUGHHEAD, poet

CEZANNE is probably one of the two greatest painters of his time. After him modern art took a fork. Cézanne initiated a focus on pure colour and paint itself, while Matisse introduced a more romantic gesture in art. Matisse was an architect with colour, a builder working with pigment. Whereas previously artists used pictures as a pane of glass, painting on to them,

Cézanne built out from the canvas. Cézanne was one of the absolute greats — up there with the likes of Rembrandt, Giotto and so on. He was a great Classical painter using sombre, abstract, platonic elements arranged inside the imaginary world of painting. Cézanne's conceptions were abstract and musical rather than human. So it is still relevant to refer to Cézanne, along with Matisse, as the father of modern art.

MELVYN BRAGG, broadcaster

CEZANNE is a painter whose works I have sought out since first encountering them in Paris, where I was working for a couple of months in 1936. My loyalty and curiosity have never flagged, although my enthusiasm for several other Impressionists, whose works I also saw intensively at that time and since, are well faded. It is the reality of his work that continues to rivet me. The utter solidity of the still lifes,

the conviction and passion of his struggle with Mont Sainte-Victoire, the early obstinacy of the naked or near-naked bodies. The worked-through simplicity is deeply satisfying. He is committed to art and not to edifice. Whether he is the father of modern art or not I feel unqualified to judge. But he combines Classicism with Romantic expression and modern rawness in a configuration which appeals to me most about art over the past 100 years.

PETER HOWSON, artist

I LOVE Cézanne. Up until a couple of years ago, I had trouble appreciating the later landscapes because I thought they were unfinished and easy. I couldn't understand what all the fuss was about. Now I like them more and more. I think I can see what he was trying to achieve — simplicity and honesty. What I admire most about him is the way he chose a theme and then explored it with many different variations. He became totally

immersed. I particularly like the nudes in the landscape in later work and the way he merged content and technique. Some of my favourite paintings are from the earliest period. There is a wonderful honesty about these paintings of rape and murder. I have never thought of Cézanne as being the "father of modern art". I just think that he is a great painter. My favourite painting is the early portrait of Achille Empereire. It is beautiful, and shows that beauty is in everything.



Mont Sainte-Victoire Seen From Bibémus, c 1897



Portrait of a Man, 1866

NORMAN ROSENTHAL, director of the Royal Academy

IN ALL forms of human endeavour, be it politics, science, art or literature, there are certain individuals who stand as archetypes within their field. Their art represents both a culmination and a new beginning. Cézanne is one such figure. Cézanne is often identified in the common mind as another, albeit important, Impressionist and, particularly in his mid-career, he certainly was that. But arguably, in his more crucial early and later periods, he can be recognised as a unique analyst of perceptual reality. He strove with unbelievable intensity to mark down and capture in paint and watercolour the fragmentary, kaleidoscopic, transitory reality that broke away from the academic descriptions of the world that had characterised all art in western Europe since the Renaissance. Was he aware of the full implication of what he had achieved? It is hard to say. But that his art represents the new beginning from which — in spite of the invention of new media (photography, film and video performance) — we have still not broken free, seems to me self-evident. I have two paintings which are my special favourites. They are both in the National Gallery, so I can look at them often. The first of these paintings is little known and hangs in the reserve collection. It is not even included in the exhibition in Paris or at the Tate. It is the early, for its time, crazy expressionistic portrait of Cézanne's father in profile seated on a chair reading a newspaper. In 1852 Cézanne, aged 21, was already looking forward to Picasso, Matisse, Francis Bacon and Lucian Freud.

MARK WALLINGER, artist

CEZANNE, the father of modern art. I dare say this will be trotted out before any appraisal of his work. Art, of course is far too heterogeneous to be ascribed to a single parent. Indeed, modernity belongs to and is a product of popular culture and this began (if we need creation theories) with Daguerrre and Fox Talbot. But the camera's refractive objectivity and its sheer reproducibility didn't (perhaps still doesn't) sit happily with a patrician élite, whose role as dispensers and interpreters of cultural artefacts was threatened. Cézanne's interrogation of subjectivity was advanced against the voracious grasp of the camera and its one good eye. Cézanne's early paintings reveal him to be free from any discernible talent or facility but possessed of a lurid imagination. Junking the weird stuff, he reinvented painting as a journey without end because

just looking was an end in itself. Cézanne's unique selling point was his vacillation; his way with paint simultaneously tentative yet pedantic, making a hero of doubt. So when Cézanne is called father of modern art, what progeny did he spawn? Expressionism? Futurism? Dada? Surrealism? No, it was Cubism, the dullest movement of all. If we buy into the kind of formal determinism I was taught as a student, this leads to abstraction which leads ultimately to formalism's tautological apogee: paint as paint.

LORD ARCHER, novelist

TO UNDERSTAND the world, you have to stop it. Cézanne froze the visible scene at La Grande Jatte. Van Gogh and Gauguin began to dismantle it, colour for colour. Monet, even while he was still at Argenteuil, set about dismantling form. Who is the father of the modern movement? All the experts have different opinions. Who was the most radical in his experiments? I would nominate Cézanne, even though he was the most conservative of the rebels, for it was he who abolished shadows. He killed off 500 years of painting by light and shade. His skies, his still lifes, his mountainsides, contain single blocks of colour. His square-edged brush broke up the landscape into a patchwork of planes, ready for rebuilding by the Cubists. All who follow — Matisse, Modigliani, the Constructivists, Futurists, New York Expressionists — owe something to Cézanne, and perhaps even Buxton Road. Would I take him to my desert island? Yes — I would purloin the National Gallery's Forest Above Château Noir of 1900. Tall Trees At Jas De Bouffon of 1885. Mont Sainte-Victoire of 1904 (hanging in Tokyo). The 1906 portrait of the gardener Yallier at Les Lauves (finer than any Van Gogh). But I would not take the earlier, hard-edged portraits and still lifes. They may be easy to admire, but hard to love. It is relevant in 1983. Art based on reality seemed to have come to a dead end by 1880. Cézanne found a wholly new direction for it.



Apples And Oranges, c 1899

TRACEY EMIN, artist

TO BE perfectly honest, I don't know that much about Cézanne but a rough impression is nice pastel colours, vague and blurry French landscapes, picnics, people swimming, strapping young men — a bit on the camp side, interesting perspectives, pre-Cubist looking, with whacking great brushstrokes. A man of comfortable means, Cézanne spent most of his life traumatised by things such as "the bowl of fruit, the light on the leaves" and ques-

tions such as: Is this great art? Am I a great artist? Will I be remembered when I die? Why am I misunderstood? These questions are how I understand/interpret the artist. If I am right then obviously Cézanne has made some impression on me — in my distant past. But the truth is I'm not interested in Cézanne or that period of French painting. What it has to offer is predominantly male, boring and bourgeois. Visually Cézanne's work has no relevance to mine whatsoever.

VAL WILLIAMS, photographer

CEZANNE was the kind of artist you don't come across today. After years of rejection by the establishment, he held his first Paris one-man show at the age of 44. Long after most modern-day artists would have given up hope. He opened up new ways to see the world, divided it up into its physical parts — light, shade, shape and colour — and laid the foundations for modernism, abandoning any interest in the psychological or the

disappointing, muted and gloomy. But his portraits of his wife Hortense and his son Paul have a vibrancy and a tension which compels the viewer to look again and again, beyond the form and into the relationships of this obsessive, emotionally confused and lonely man. One suspects that for Cézanne, Modernism, with its planes and forms and objects, meant that real life and other people's obsessions could be held infinitely at arm's length.

ANTHONY GOSWILEY, sculptor

THINK about how his work emerged from dark, oil-laden paintings full of sexual struggle and inner turmoil to an engagement with light and how it penetrates form. And think about how his looking at things with light over time remains a kind of blessing on the whole development of 20th century western art. And how, without it, the current concern with duration in the video works of Gary Hill and Bill Viola could not have happened. Then you begin to realise how important Cézanne still is. The sublimation of sexual-

ity through visual acuity — his "petites sensations" — remains a saintly path, just as Cézanne remains the father of modern art. For all the theoretical talk about cones, spheres and cylinders, it is Cézanne's appreciation of the gaze as a caring-off of distance through which it becomes intimate and known, but never totally possessed. His understanding that nothing can ever be known in the way that Ruskin (and many an English draughtsman to follow him) wanted to fix things — but simply has to be felt. This is, in the end, Cézanne's gift to us.

LORD GOWRIE, chairman of the Arts Council

CEZANNE is a painter you grow into, not out of. He changed the grammar of French painting. Given the influence of the French at the time, that meant changing the grammar of painting throughout the western world. He found that painting something you saw before you every day — your wife's face, fruit on a kitchen table, a familiar view — was not so much a rendering of experience as a carving, a sculpture in oil paint. This itself became an alter-

ation of the observed world and indeed an addition to it. So his paintings are intensely three-dimensional. They look — however delicate the handling of light — as if they would somehow be heavier to carry than other oil paintings. He trained when the neo-classical tradition was riding high, though his own leanings were Baroque — he liked the decorative effect of bodies in motion. He ended by giving everyday things the monumentality and the distance of classical archetypes. Given his admiration for Poussin it was what he wanted to do. And he brought it off.

JACK CUNNINGHAM, MP and shadow heritage minister

I HAVE always enjoyed Cézanne's paintings. His conviction in the worth of his own work, enabling him to break with tradition, is an inspiration. His enduring success rests on the continuing relevance and accessibility of his work, which stimulates people of all ages. He changed the whole way people looked at things, in abandoning all pretence of

reproducing the look of nature, he claimed he wanted to recreate it instead by modelling in colour rather than in light and shade. Cézanne's real genius came in the later years when his work became more abstract. His break with the tradition of needing to represent subjects realistically was the major catalyst for the later, contemporary paintings.



Baigneuses, 1890

Holy spirit-level

Radio

Lyn Gardner

GOD has not been having a good time, what with the controversy over the ordination of women priests, the Nine O'Clock Service, Charles and Di and the Lottery. Now there's this hell business. God, it seems, is getting the boot as a celestial traffic warden and hell is not as hot as we previously thought. If he doesn't look sharp, God may find that heaven is all in the mist, too, and be forced to sleep rough in a doorway next to a couple of bishops who've been evicted from their palaces. Yes, it's been a worrying time for God, although you'd hardly know it listening to radio's religious broadcasting

output over the past week. There is an ineffable smugness about most religious broadcasting that's pretty off-putting for those not in the club. Worst offender is Premier Radio, the UK's only Christian commercial station, where the presentation style is so relentlessly cheery that the broadcasters sound as if they're auditioning to be sunbathers on Jesus. Don Maclean on Good Morning Sunday (Radio 2) trickles over the airways like trawls, too. His interview last Sunday with George Carey, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was a model of Hello-style journalism. The archbishop said how much he would love to "see a place in all our cities where young people could go and feel embraced by the Christian service." This surprised me. I thought there was. It was in Sheffield, and it was called the Nine O'Clock Service. Presumably, the arch-

bishop has not yet been Torontoised, a term used on Sunday (Radio 4) to describe a phenomenon known as the Toronto Blessing, which is the supposed eruption of the Holy Spirit into Christian worship in the form of uncontrolled laughter and bizarre animal noises. Apparently some evangelicals think this livens things up no end, but most of the church professionals interviewed on Sunday seem to feel that on such occasions the Holy Spirit should be treated like a gate-crasher and shown the door. The real difficulty for religious broadcasting is that it persists in trying to create a vision of a benign world where God is in his heaven presiding over one big happy family on earth even when human nature and the real world keep butting in. Just as Don Maclean and the Reverend Ann Ester were tutting over the evils of the Lottery and offering up a prayer for the newly rich, there was a break for the news bulletin which began by announcing the winning lottery numbers.

Christians all over the country were presumably surreptitiously checking their cards and hoping God — and Don — were taking a quick nap. Premier Radio could do with winning a bob now. The Christian station launched last June has so few listeners (just over 200,000) that it will probably take more than divine intervention to save it. In the meantime, 16 staffers have been made redundant, more job losses are threatened and the station has jettisoned its predominantly talk output in favour of easy listening. The problem is that there are only a limited number of times a day that you can play "In A Believer, and the inexperienced Premier is now in direct competition with long-established, better-resourced and more slickly presented stations. Premier's managing director, David Heron, claims that "the station is part of God's agenda for London and the Home Counties". Well, they say. God moves in mysterious ways.

The high-flying doctors

Television

Adam Sweeting

TELEVISION, land of contrasts: Operation Coathanger (BBC1) started abysmally, with Michael Buerk — the Ancient Mariner of television woe and gloom — materialising amid stock tourist footage of Hong Kong to intone: "Hong Kong, with its skyscrapers and its skyscrapers, is a unique blend of east and west." How true. How distantly mundane. But for the morbid viewer this "999 Special" gradually became a satisfyingly macabre. It recreated the gruesome tale of Paula Dixon, who was about to fly home from her Hong Kong holiday when she was involved in a motorbike crash. She boarded a British Airways

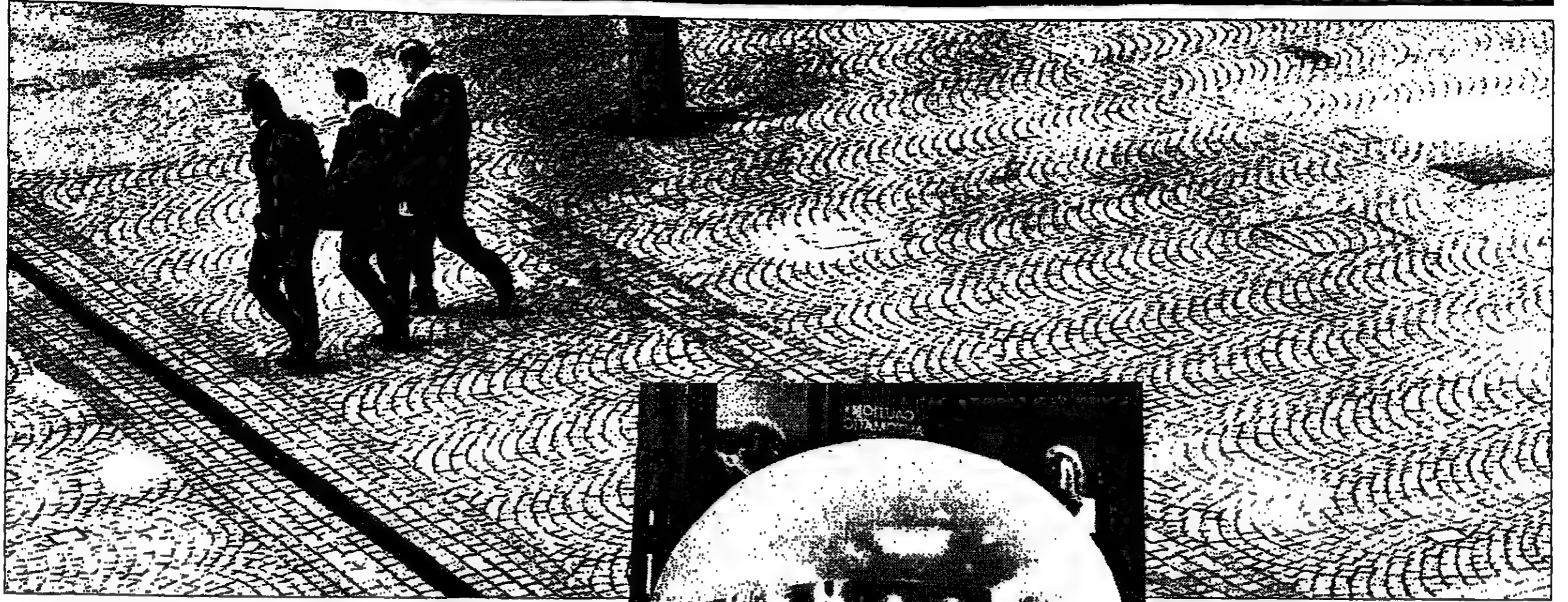
flight to London, not realising she had a broken rib and a punctured lung, not that Buerk was barking behind every bulkhead. Paula must have been numb all over not to realise she had major problems. She soon became the passenger from hell for the other people on board. First she had to have her arm put in a splint, then fellow passenger, surgeon Professor Angus Wallace, had to perform horrific improvised surgery to release a life-threatening build-up of air inside her chest. "I plunged the scissors through the chest wall, and turned them though 90 degrees," the professor recounted with relish, as "an actress" recreated Paula's anguished moans and groans. The grateful cabin crew gave Professor Wallace bottles of brandy and champagne. I trust the other passengers sued the world's favourite air-

line for emotional trauma, sleep disturbance and ruined movies and in-flight meals. Somebody has conveniently pup labelled "The Eighties". First we have Peter York's over-budgeted, overblown, intellectually absent six-part debacle about that unlamented decade. Now we're supposed to put up with BBC2's tawdry Sounds Of The Eighties. This feels all wrong. There's a cursory voiceover from Andy Kershaw, Yorkshire's best-known salesman of Gossamer zither music and an impersonator at the all-new Radio 1, followed by a string of crummy old clips from Top Of The Pops, the Oxford Road Show and Multi Coloured Swap Shop. The decade's best lip-synchers were Durrant and Multi Coloured Swap Shop. The decade's best lip-synchers were Durrant and Multi Coloured Swap Shop. The decade's best lip-synchers were Durrant and Multi Coloured Swap Shop.

lovely chunky sweaters provoked a pang of nostalgia. Some of the songs were quite good but this is lazy, ineffective programming. If the BBC is so embarrassingly devoid of imagination and resources then it should make the grand gesture and shut down altogether until suitable measures are taken. It certainly shouldn't waste what meagre cash it can find on sentimental trips like The Rocker: A Portrait Of Phil Lynott (BBC2). Oh all right, he was a smashing fellow who loved his children, but Lynott was a second-rate rock star in a ropey old metal band. He wanted to be Bim Hendrix, but he lived the rock'n'roll life beyond his means. The programme's one coup was getting Van Morrison to speak, but the most telling anecdote was about a stricken Lynott singing My Way on his deathbed. Ham!

صكنا من الامهل

think of Cézanne? art?



The city centre, long the focus of social, public and commercial activity, has been drained of life - a process which, DEYAN SUDJIC argues, proposed solutions seem unlikely to change

Can we fix this hole at the heart of our cities?

PROVIDED you ignore the boarded up shop windows and the bedraggled figures selling the Big Issue, the architecture of Britain's town centres looks much as it did 20 years ago.

There has been nothing like the invasion of shopping malls, mid-storey car parks and crude new office buildings that wreaked so much havoc in the 1960s. Conservation has stopped the tidal wave of demolition: facades at least are all but unscathed.

Appearances, however, are seriously misleading. The fact that nothing new is happening in the city centre is a sign not of stability but that the action has moved elsewhere. Behind the carefully preserved crust of stone and brick, the town centre is threatened by the greatest challenge it has ever had to face.

The 1960s may have left it looking uglier, but at least it still had a clear purpose. The city then was still the centre of social life, the place in which institutions naturally gathered, where ambitious corporations believed they had to have their headquarters, even if they built them in Brutalist style.

They were where we all looked for the kind of public life that gives cities their special quality: exotic food stores, specialist book-shops, and the chance meetings and random, unexpected social accidents of urban life. They

were characterised by the café and the court house as well as the cinema and the university.

The city centre was also the place that could accommodate the awkward, not always very picturesque aspects of urban reality that suburbs find too uncomfortable to deal with — the homeless, the sex industry, the subcultures of the gay life, of immigrants and drugs.

New patterns of urban life are bypassing them altogether. The changes, social as well as technological, of the 1980s are threatening their very existence. Cash dispensers and telephone banking are making marble banking halls redundant, just as our loss of faith has left the churches empty and our changing tastes in alcohol threaten the survival of the traditional pub.

Most of us now live miles away from anything remotely recognisable as a traditional city — a fact that has deeply disturbed the Campaign for the Preservation of Rural England. The majority of new housing is being built not on derelict inner city sites, but in and around the green belt. And these new homes, typically planned with no provision for public transport, are utterly dependent on the car.

We shop in giant ex-urban shopping centres, not corner shops, whose role the filling station is doing its best to usurp. The decision in the late 1980s by the big retailers — Marks & Spencer, Sainsbury

and Tesco — to concentrate their investment in giant stores, where customers can park at ground level, had enormous consequences for the future of the city. Meanwhile, BAA — which now makes more money as a retailer than it does out of the airlines — is presenting Heathrow as the ideal family shopping location.

As people increasingly stay away, so the economic cycle which is undermining the future of the city centre takes a further, and more vicious turn. It is seen as squalid, and potentially dangerous, a place to be endured, rather than avoided, rather than a glamorous attraction. More and more of our work in business parks — landscaped campuses close to airports, or motorways. There may be a squash court, and a health club, but walking to the shops, or the pub at lunch time is out of the question. We amuse ourselves at far flung multiplex cinemas. Even hospitals and government buildings are vanishing, leaving an empty space in frantic search of a plausible future.

Too many responses to these challenges are no more than attempts to apply sticking plaster remedies to life-threatening wounds. The same tired old attempt to camouflage structural decay with a cosmetic dusting of granite cobbles, bollards made from recycled railway sleepers, and hanging baskets of flowers are still being trotted out. Worst of all is pedestrianisation, which



in many cases does more harm than good. Excluding the car erodes the sense of life, and activity that is essential to keep cities buzzing, and turns them instead into a gratingly artificial environment.

The problems can only become more acute and pressing. John Gummer is trying to shut the stable door after the bolted horse of hypermarket shopping as if our experiences were unique. But Britain is simply further down the same road than most European countries are following.

Why should Gummer succeed in turning the tide where every kind of economy and political system has failed? And for that matter what is a government so committed to the idea of the supremacy of the market that it is prepared to privatise the prisons doing trying to dictate where we can buy frozen chicken? Certainly it is true that most cities in Britain — and for that matter in western Europe — are losing population. They are

spreading themselves out in thinner and thinner layers across a wider and wider area.

Even if Gummer could find a convincing justification for halting new out-of-town shopping centres, the price of keeping retailing in the city centre might yet prove to be its destruction. To tempt the big commercial names back, parking on the same scale they can offer out of town to soothe the fears of commuters terrified by stories of snuggers will have to be made available. And cities are going to have to be re-shaped to make room for the giant boxes that retailers demand.

The conventional commercial solution to the problem of this decline is the use of a high street, that is to say an attempt to run a city centre as if it were an enclosed mall — which is all very well, but presupposes the survival of city centre retailing. Those retailers that have a chance of survival there will cater to the market's extremes. Every-

Pedestrianisation in many cases does more harm than good. And the 'cappuccino culture' turns the city into a playground for those affluent enough to afford its attractions

ful. The response to those cities that have rebuilt themselves through the process usually referred to as gentrification — the so-called cappuccino culture that has breathed new life into the old centre of Glasgow, more patchily in Liverpool, and to parts of central London — has been even more ambiguous.

This goes far beyond the conversion of dull working class pubs into brasseries, and the substitution of exotic bottled beers from Mexico and China for real ale. It represents the conversion of the city into a playground for those affluent enough to afford its attractions, the creation of a city whose main purpose is the consumption, rather than the creation, of wealth. It is an economy based on the taking in of each other's washing, writ large. And it presupposes streets entirely devoted to hairdressers, bistros and expensive clothes shops.

Justifying by the epidemic of ever larger new restaurants that Britain is building, eating out has turned into its last remaining heavy industry. But while this future for the city may ensure its continuing survival, it brings with it the potential destruction of its traditional meaning, through an ever sharper social segregation.

THE city centre was once shared by every group in the community, and the exclusive preserve of none — look for example at the way that Belfast's centre was neutral ground during the troubles, while the security forces segregated one working class suburb from the next.

In future it looks as if the city centre will become ever more narrowly divided turf. There will be areas visited only by tourists, others that are the preserve of the very young, or gays, or office workers with no interaction between them. The fed for loft life for example while it may fill empty urban buildings, is a pursuit enjoyed by the childless, already joyously soaking up the remains of the Victorian workshops.

Now the redundant office buildings of the 1960s are being co-opted too, as white collar jobs follow blue collar jobs to oblivion. In place of mixed working communities is a homogenous residential area. In London the old Soho was raffish, down at heel, and sometimes squalid, but it was a centre for both the young and the old, criminals, and affluent diners. The new one is a thriving, but increasingly narrowly defined gay community.

It is this atomisation that perhaps represents the greatest threat to the future of the city, and it is one for which there are as yet no answers.

JOHN EZARD on Quiller's last Moscow mission, which brings to an end an era of great British bestseller writing

Heroes left out in the cold

THE author Ellston Trevor stopped dictating, then turned very slowly to his son Jean-Pierre, who was at his bedside on his Arizona ranch, and said, "That's it."

Jean-Pierre burst into tears. He mumbled something and went into his father's study, looked at the street map of Moscow, the interrogation manual and the old, already dusty, typewriter. Then he went into the living-room and told Trevor's second wife, Chloé, the good news. The novel was finished.

Next day Ellston Trevor alias Adam Hall and five other



Ellston Trevor: Lived just long enough to finish novel

pen names, last and among the most illustrious of the war generation of best-selling British storytellers, died peacefully, aged 75.

That was last July. For two years he had suffered from the cancer that took his first wife, Joni, in 1986. Laser treatment might have beaten it. But that would have disrupted his iron routine. Instead, he ransacked meditation and alternative medicine. Unlike his most famous creation, the little spy Quiller, he had found an enemy against which strategy and willpower were of no avail. But he died a true, obsessive writer's death. It

loose ends he would have edited, given time. But the final 30 pages are as good as the first, with the usual stomach-collaring tension and the old noir eloquence that put him second only to Le Carré. The book effectively closes an era.

Trevor was by no means the only obsessive high seller of his generation; Alastair Maclean drank himself to death striving to maintain his status long after his hair had gone; Ian Fleming went over the edge trying to live as youthfully as Bond. But Quiller lasted 11 novels longer than Bond. His creator was the arch-survivor of a lost age of literate general popular fiction.

The names of Ellston Trevor's contemporaries and near-contemporaries were legion: the Brits alone included Nigel Balchin, Nevill Shute, H E Bates, Geoffrey Household, Eric Ambler, Hammond Innes, Marjory Allingham, R F Delderfield, Frank Tibbels, Warwick Deep-

ing, Rumer Godden, John Moore, A J Cronin, Vincent Browne.

His first publisher was Gerald Swan, remembered as "an ex-borrow boy who kept three warehouses stuffed with pulp fiction worth their weight in gold during the wartime paper shortage, which lasted into the 1950s."

With Trevor among Heinemann's star list in that decade were Shute, Erskine Caldwell, Erle Stanley Gardner and Frank Yerby. He was not unusual in running three Rolls-Royces and a house in Mayfair on the proceeds. They were all riding the last wave of the 1970 Education Act, which created mass literacy and an appetite for reading.

That was until television took over. He died isolated in his craft, with his contemporaries virtually all out of print and unrec'd by new generations, their vast book club and paperback editions surviving only on secondhand book-

Book of the Week

The Regeneration Trilogy
The Ghost Road, part three in the Regeneration Trilogy, won Pat Barker the Booker Prize in 1995.

Her touch is deft but delicate, her compassion strong. She sees war and the casualties of war with bitter clarity and makes this passage in Somerset Maugham's novel of trench-warfare power.

Margaret Forster

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Eric Hebborn

Faking a name for himself

This outline of the life of Eric Hebborn, who has died aged 61 after an accident, would convey the impression of a moderately successful artist who turned his back on English art and society to live in Italy. Yet after it was revealed by journalist Geraldine Norman that he was the creator of many "old master" drawings which had passed through the art trade in the 1970s he gained almost cult status.

Born in London, at the age of nine he was sent to Borsari for arson. After passing through a series of foster parents he displayed an ability as a draughtsman and arrived at the Royal Academy Schools where he studied from 1936 to 1940. His drawings, etchings, and paintings were not in step with his fellow students but they gained him the Rome Scholarship for etching for 1938.

Two years at the British Academy in Rome followed, then he worked for two years as a teacher in England. In 1936 he returned to Rome to work as a portrait sculptor and artist. Later he held one man exhibitions of drawings and sculptures in Rome, London, Hamburg and Manila.

The storm broke in March 1936 when Norman identified certain old master drawings which had recently been sold as his work. There is no dispute that Hebborn did make many drawings which purport to be by artists as varied as Breughel, Piranesi, Pontorno, Corot and Augustus John; the quantity varies from hundreds to thousands depending on who tells the tale.

In his 1981 autobiography *Drawn To Trouble* the artist tells of his relationship with the experts, Anthony Blunt and Hans Calmann, to whom he brought his Rome "discoveries" and his dealings with the art world. They had been invited to select for their auctions drawings he had recently found. He gives as his apology that "no drawing can be itself, it is only the opinion of the expert which can deceive".

After the publication of his autobiography, his "outing" continued with the 1981 BBC television Omnibus programme, *Eric Hebborn, Master Forger*. In my gallery in 1982 I presented a retrospective exhibition of his drawings which was welcomed by John Rowlands, former keeper of drawings at the British

Museum, as "enabling us to discover what sort of draughtsman lies behind all the fakes which have been trickling on to the market for many years". It was during this exhibition that it became apparent what a sympathetic chord Hebborn had struck with his view of the work of art in its own right divorced from expert opinion.

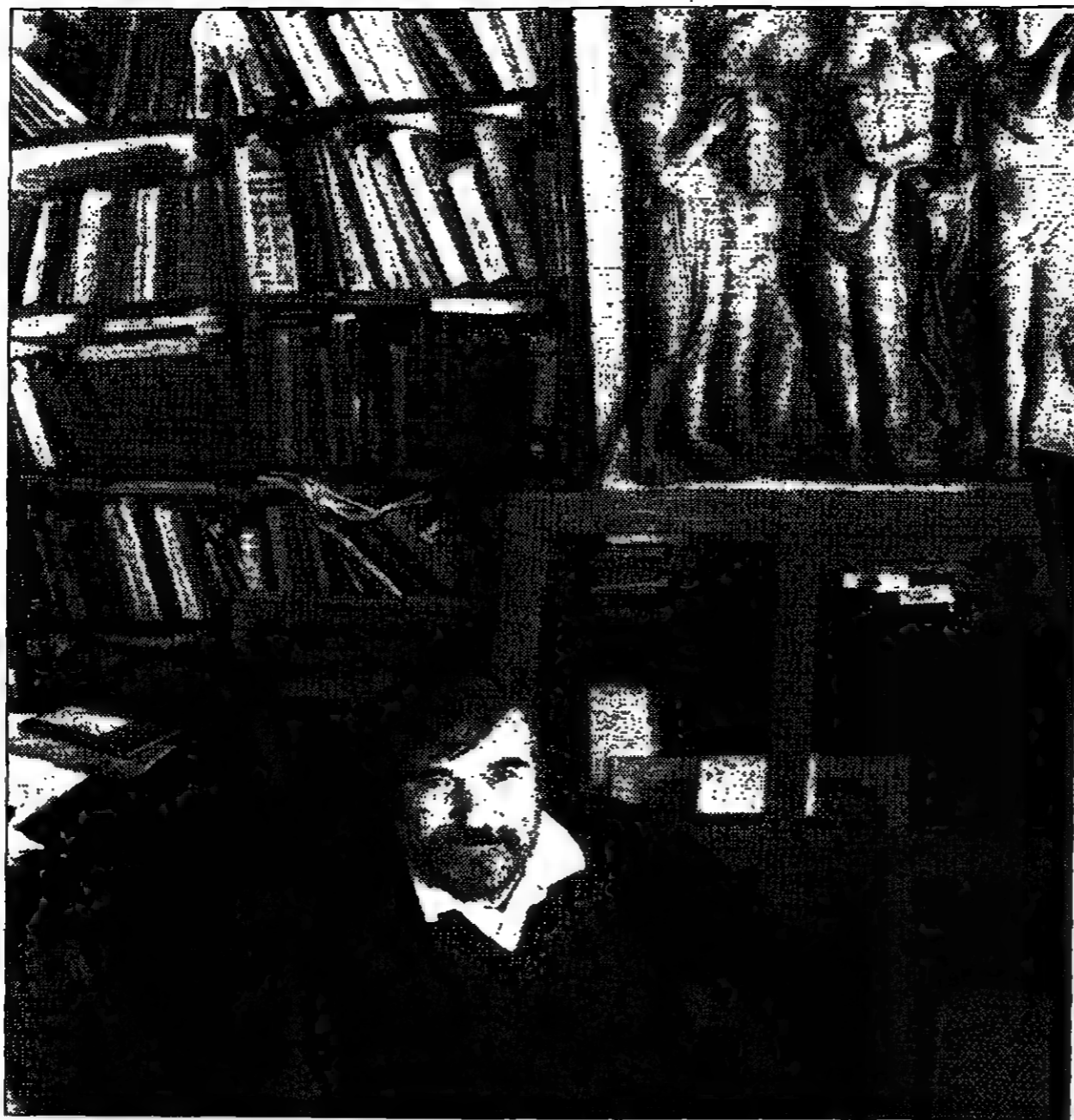
Later he undertook commissioned drawings, several of which were exhibited in 1994 in London, revealing the tremendous range of his knowledge of drawing technique. He was prepared to discuss at length the principles of draughtsmanship and would have shared with a wider public had his treatise *The Language Of Line* found a publisher. Instead, the *Art Forger's Handbook*, a cook-book for forgers' methods, was published last year in Italy.

Hebborn made many claims, many were made on his behalf and most were disputed. His proudest was that the magnificent Piranesi drawing *Preparatory Study For An Etching*, purchased by the National Gallery of Denmark from Hans Calmann, was his work. Recently, in a filmed interview, Hebborn had the qualified satisfaction of being told that expert opinion now considered the work to be by "a late follower of Piranesi".

Hebborn endeavoured to promote, and enjoyed the debate on the nature of draughtsmanship. He was not a faker for the sake of money, although he did at times live well. He was generous and provocative at the same time. Some of his work could be ignored although his death makes the problem of identification no less difficult.

Julian Marshall

Paul Binding writes: "I'm a mage." Eric Hebborn once said to me. "I understand things about people that I haven't been told and that they won't tell. I always know when people are happy or unhappy." This is a large claim to make for oneself, but there was something magical about him. I first met Hebborn two or three days after my arrival at a friend's house in Anticoli Corrado, north-east of Rome. The village has been a magnet for artists since the twenties, yet then it did not seem exotic or elitist. I was introduced to Hebborn at the local bar in the piazza. He was a strikingly handsome man, with his beard and bright eyes and bohemian clothes, including that day his old wide-brimmed hat that could so easily have belonged to a member of the Barbizon school. He invited me to his house which he said was virtually next door to my cottage. We turned off a track climbing down the mountainside and entered dense sweet chestnut woods in which all paths seemed first to narrow, then to lose themselves to the point of disappearance. The going got sheer and quite difficult; it was hard to believe that any creature but a fox or badger could have been living there. And then a green dell opened out below us, with lawn and apple-trees and a terrace, and a house obviously constructed out of an old chapel. Here were a secret garden and a magician's house, and fittingly there was no orthodox route to them whatever. I was to remain in Anticoli for more than three years, and time beyond counting I would make my way — accompanied by my dog, Jonas — to Hebborn's as we became close friends. Jonas always knew the path but even Hebborn could get lost going home. I



remember him telling me several times that he'd slept the entire night in his garden — and his imaginative creation and trading of it — was intense. He had great feeling for animals; he was a dog-lover and owned himself, and Jonas had a particular affection for him. He loved the antiques of the Italian countryside as perhaps only those of the northern countries quite can. One could see him in the tradition of all those 18th- and 19th-century English and German scholar-travellers who came south lured by monuments yet in the end stayed captive to the life of the country itself.

'No drawing can lie itself, it is only the opinion of the expert which can deceive'... Eric Hebborn and, left, his 1960 sepi wash *Bellerophon and Pegasus*

and repair; he had been a nimble boxer in his youth; he has sculptured and placed statues in arresting positions outdoors. He had a most personal devotion to certain poets; Michelangelo, Blake, and Lorca inspired him visually too.

As for his activities as a forger — about which gossip was rife, prompted by the visit and ensuing article of *Times* critic Geraldine Norman — this was not a subject we discussed with any seriousness. "I shall tell the truth about things in my own time and my own way," he would say cryptically. And he did, in his autobiography. But even though that book has acquired its own reputation, it still remains uncertain about how much truth it contains. Where earlier he denied, later he laid claim, all intended to create an unmissable in his eyes was bracing, salutary, and no more than the conventional-bound deserved.

Was Hebborn a happy man? It's hard to say. From a deprived background, and homosexual (though not exclusively so) he reacted strongly against Establishment England, and perhaps could never have made a home for himself there. Yet, for all that profound love of Italy, I feel he was not a committed exile from his own country.

Eric Hebborn, artist and faker, born March 23, 1934; died January 11, 1996

Robley Evans

Tuning into body waves

ROBLEY "Rob" Evans, who has died aged 88, pioneered the use of radioactive isotopes in biological research and in medical investigation and treatment. He was also among the first nuclear scientists to recognise the need for long-term epidemiology to underpin assessments of the hazards of internal exposure to radionuclides.

He first focused on those isotopes which concentrate in particular body tissues, such as thyroid or bone, and became renowned for his systematic follow-up of the "dial painters" — the groups of women workers who, during the first world war and later, were exposed to the radium in luminous paint through licking the tips of their brushes. This problem, a dramatic early warning of the dangers of absorbed or ingested radioactive elements, was identified by H S Martland in 1925, when he revealed that several dial painters had, within five to seven years, suffered massive jaw necrosis and rapid fatal anaemia. Over the next decade the remaining survivors began to suffer a high incidence of leukaemia and bone cancer.

Evans's doctoral studies involved isotopes and when, in 1935, he became director of the pioneering Radioactivity Centre at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, he set out on a systematic investigation aimed at relating cancer type, residual radium in bone, and the calculated lifetime radiation dose to the affected tissue.

This was the first study of its kind, providing data and setting a model upon which radiation safety standards were later based. However, Evans had to face, and overcome, major difficulties.

At this time it was still widely believed that exposure to radiation as a form of internal medicine was beneficial. Supposedly therapeutic injections of radium-226, widely used in clinics in the United States and Europe in the 1920s, were not banned in the US until 1932. Over-the-counter radioactive nostrums such as *Radiolator*, which contained water-soluble radium and mesothorium, were used as family remedies for anything from a rash to gout.

Consequently, Evans's study of the long-term effects of radium-226 went against the grain of public, and even some medical, attitudes. It was also not without ethical controversy, for, to achieve a true assessment of the hazards, Evans had to win permission to exhume some of the later dial-painter cancer victims, so that information on radium in bone would not be lost. This study, extended in 1947, even-

tually formed the basis of radiation protection standards for radium and for other bone-seeking isotopes, such as those of strontium and plutonium. The availability of radioactive isotopes increased in range and purity and, alongside the development of sensitive detection methods, became increasingly important in research, medicine and industry in the 1940s. Evans campaigned for the establishment of safety standards for use in parallel with the investigation and exploitation of new isotope techniques.

While still directing the MIT Radioactivity Centre, by this time a world focus for specialist post-graduate studies, he promoted the use of isotopes in plant biology and, on the back of animal experiments, pioneered the use of radioiodine to investigate thyroid function and treat thyroid disease. He also investigated isotope-ratio dating techniques, particularly those of radiocarbon and radio-potassium.

In the later post-war era, Evans was taken to task for promoting the notion of a "threshold" radiation dose below which late effects would not occur, but nevertheless he played an important role in the exploitation and dose-control of short-lived radioactive isotopes as a means of measuring human biochemical functions, such as calcium absorption and turnover.

HIS techniques were exacting and are still regarded as models, but some of his experiments were carried out on children in mental institutions. During the recent wave of exposures of unethical radiation experiments in the US, his work was criticised because of the lack of consent.

Ethics and attitudes change, and knowledge of the effects of radiation has grown. But Evans's work remains firmly among the foundations of modern nuclear medicine. When criticism broke in 1984 he spoke from retirement. "You keep calling these 'radiation experiments' but they were not. They were tracer experiments designed to track drugs and minerals without producing radiation damage." This is a fair description, yet over-modest for it misses their real importance to medicine and biology.

Evans remained at MIT until 1972, winning the Enrico Fermi Prize in 1960. He is survived by his second wife and three children from his first marriage.

Anthony Tucker

Robley D Evans, nuclear physicist, born May 16, 1907; died January 7, 1996



Material girl... Robley Evans uses a Geiger counter to trace the passage of radioactive material through the body of Vera Collier, a chemist who, for this demonstration at the New York Waldorf-Astoria, swallowed a solution laced with radioactive substances

Another Day

January 13, 1967: A man behind me on the bus said to a young woman and said, "It's a sevenspence to where I'm going, my dear, I remember when it was twopenny." "Do you really?" she said, looking most unimpressed. "You don't mind my speaking to you without your permission, do you?" "No," the girl said. "I

usually travel by underground. I'm a railway official. We travel free of charge. As I expect you've read, "Pause, and then, heavily, "When I got in my four-footed friend will run to greet me." He added, "My dog", as though she might imagine he meant his donkey. *The Orion Diaries, Minerva, 1986*

Letter

Simon Thomas writes: Although I only met my father Hubert Robinson (obituary January 12) for the first time in 1982, I discovered a warm, loving and sensitive man. My

mother Frances Wheeler met him when she was a sub-editor at Reuters in 1948. I grew up not knowing him but I shall remember him with affection.

Weekend Birthdays

Warren Mitchell (right) would be perfect casting for God right now — he's 70 tomorrow. A God on the small, bald side. *Silvers* by William Blake, eyebrows by Michelangelo, previous experience dealing with the Ingratitude of human creation playing King Lear at the Hackney Empire last year, a role he got by writing to the director saying I'm one of your colonial Lears — he'd had a crack in Australia — *gissaloh*. He knows about work, he's done swag, porter at Hoxton station, night shift at Walls ice cream ("I will say one thing for love poverty — when you begin to make a bit of cash, and you can afford one or two of the luxuries —

it's marvellous"; his Willy Loman in the National's *Death Of A Salesman* was all about business, and not the theatrical kind — he's filming the part for telly this year. Imagine that, Warren, you old pessimist who used to reckon, sitting on a folding location chair while the gaffers taped up a cable, that it would all go wrong and you'd end up in the poorhouse: there you are, still swimming, doing Shakespeare and Arthur Miller and about to revivify Alf after a few years' dormancy ("I love playing awful people") in a film, *The Revenge Of Alf Garnett* in which Alf's grandson comes to power, wait for it, as a socialist PM. VR



Today's birthdays: Michael Bond, author, creator of Paddington Bear, 70; Edward Crew, chief constable, Northampton, 50; Stephen Hendry, snooker player, 27; Anna Home, head of children's programmes, BBC TV, 38; Ronan Rafferty, golfer, 52; Harry Roche, chairman, the Guardian Media Group, 62; Lorna Sage, lecturer and literary critic, 53; Robert Stack, actor, 77.

Tomorrow's other birthdays: Giulio Andreotti, former prime minister of Italy, 77; Prof Sir Melville Arnott, cardiologist, 87; Peter Bartwell, former Labour MP, 79; Richard Briers, actor, 62; Carolin Burton, investment director, Guardian Royal Exchange, 46; Lord Catto, banker, 73; Faye Dunaway, actress, 55; Prof Sir Hans Kornberg, master, Christ's College, Cambridge, 68; Rear Adm Jeremy Larkin, Falklands commander, 57; Trevor Nunn, theatre director, 56; Caterina Valente, guitarist and singer, 65; Ken-ay Wheeler, jazz trumpeter, composer, 66.

Face to Faith

We can't prove we know it

Lynette Singer

ESPERALLY does exist. We can say this with a certain amount of confidence because Sony has spent a great deal of money investigating the matter and they say that it does. Their interest is entirely businesslike; aware of our fascination with the paranormal, they want to make the most of it. They hope to produce equipment which will help us use our latent powers — and ESP machines for telepathic messages are first on the list. Sony have got it right and wrong. Right, because we indisputably are interested in everything mystical, from witchcraft to angels. Wrong, because the pursuit of proof, in the rationalist, scientific approach typified by Sony is truthless and irrelevant. The

20th century prevalence of scientific thinking has misled us into believing that everything must be quantifiable and provable. We have fallen into the habit of asking inappropriate questions about spiritual and mystical matters. This is as true about the way we look at religion as it is about our attitude to the paranormal. They are both about faith, the capacity to believe in something which hasn't been proved. In the same way, logic and science have never been opposed to faith, although we often perceive them to be. The two are perfectly compatible; mysticism is often highly developed among intellectuals, and great scientists are at least as likely as the uneducated to seek understanding of spiritual matters. A brief trawl through cultures and

centuries reveals a persistent interest in the supernatural, in those things which concern a force or power outside the laws of our everyday world. Religious cults, afterlife beliefs, magic, prediction, miracles — they pour off the pages of history. But the first question we ask about supernatural events is "Can we prove it?" We want to convince ourselves. Did the Hindu statues really drink milk? Did Nostradamus predict the future? Does ESP exist? In a sense, this is the least important question. If proof was the deciding factor, all belief in the supernatural would have been extinguished centuries ago. For the supernatural is an experience, felt upon a personal level and largely non-transferable. The person who has seen a ghost can never be persuaded that they have not, while, at

the same time, they can never entirely convince anyone else that they have. Proof in spiritual matters is impossible and, clearly, superfluous. Why, then, are we so keen to have to have it? When 19th-century European empire-builders inquired into the cultures of others, they were often surprised to discover that religious and supernatural beliefs were not subjected to any form of testing. They concluded that this was due to a lack of scientific sophistication among less educated folk. It was a convenient way of marking a separation between themselves and 'prescientific' thinkers. But the Europeans had overlooked the fact these people, though pre-industrial, were aware of the laws of nature and the principle of cause and effect. They simply chose not to apply such laws in areas where they felt them to be irrelevant. Belief systems were in a separate category to the everyday concerns to which a scientific approach would be appropriate, and it now appears that these simpler, less

liberate societies had got it right. Our insistence on testing and proving has not advanced our understanding of spiritual matters. Furthermore, the claims of rationalism to have superseded religious and supernatural beliefs are unfounded. Church-going may have declined, but the increase in Christian sub-groups, the rise in Islam, the growth of cults

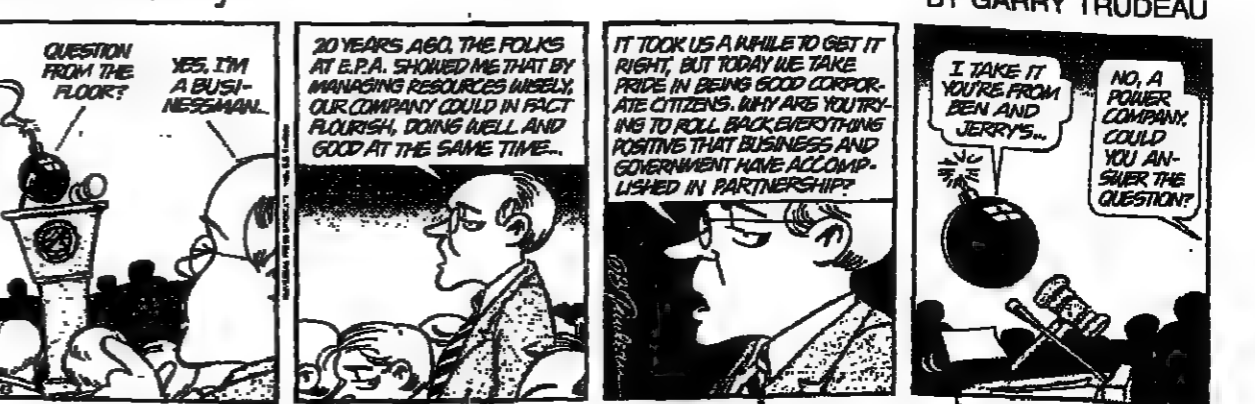
and New Age religions, and the revival of "pagan" belief systems, such as witchcraft and voodoo, point to a continuing interest in a world beyond the mundane. The only conclusion is that there is a part of our nature which is not satisfied with the tangible, the explainable and the immediate, and longs for the existence of some force outside our everyday lives.

Attempts to understand this need so far are limited. There is one view that mystical and ritual experiences are similar to art and music; that they're a source of expressive satisfaction in their own right, and will be as enduring. Another answer might be that our yearning is a recognition of the existence of God, prompting our unending quest to find Him. But, how-

ever else we seek to understand our spiritual dimension, measurement and testing is unlikely to help us in the future, any more than it has worked in the past.

Lynette Singer is co-author of *Divine Magic: The World Of The Supernatural*, which accompanies the series, *Divine Magic*, starting at 8pm tonight on Channel 4

Doonesbury



BY GARRY TRUDEAU

Money Guardian

Farewell mutual friends

Now Woolwich joins rush to become a bank

Teresa Hunter and Cliff Jones

THE Woolwich's 3.5 million members will be congratulating themselves this weekend for "winning" big bonuses after backing the right horse in the building society conversion race. But a closer study of the Woolwich blueprint for becoming a bank could show that they have gained less than they hoped. Many Woolwich customers do not hold the necessary accounts to qualify as "members", and many other customers opened accounts too late to qualify. Long-term Woolwich savers, who liquidated their nest-eggs to buy Woolwich life and unit trust investments — which do not qualify for shares — will be particularly aggrieved.

Most angry of all will be the Tessa savers who changed institutions when their Tessa matured on January 1, thereby foregoing what will undoubtedly be a very substantial Woolwich bonus. Savers and borrowers will each receive a fixed package of shares of around £750, provided they had £100 in their accounts at the end of last year. Those with larger accounts will receive an additional pay-out based on the size of the balance, provided they have held their accounts for two years.

Members who are both savers and borrowers can receive two flat-rate distributions, al-

Next in line

**Alliance & Leicester
Nationwide
Bristol & West
B'ham Midshires
Chelsea**

though members with several savings accounts only qualify once. However, their balances will be aggregated when calculating the variable giveaway.

To its credit, the Woolwich has tried to be fair to customers caught straddling the deadline. It will give shares to anyone who received a mortgage offer before the key deadline, provided it is accepted within three months, and the purchase is subsequently completed.

Similarly, Tessa funds which were transferred into a Woolwich Pep or guaranteed income bond by members who maintained their membership through another account will be taken into consideration when calculating shares.

Where their membership was terminated by the transfer, the customer can rejoin by switching funds back before January 23.

Untouched Tessa were automatically reinvested in a Prime Gold account. Woolwich's second-issue Tessa allow investors to tie up only £9,000. Investors should keep the additional interest in another qualifying saving account. But while busy counting their winnings, customers



All change... The Woolwich is the latest in a long line of building societies to make a switch

ILLUSTRATION: JOHN WORNLEY

should spare a thought for what will be lost when the Woolwich becomes a bank. It would be wrong to characterise building societies, which continue to repossess about 1,000 homes a week, as philanthropic organisations.

Nevertheless, the fact that they are owned, not by shareholders, but by their customers, has served borrowers and savers better than they might otherwise have been. Despite

odd lapses, the Woolwich has been a good example of all that is worthwhile about mutual ownership.

Next year all that will change. The Halifax, Woolwich and probably the Alliance & Leicester will go to the stock market. Others, including the Bristol & West, Birmingham Midshires and Chelsea, may be taken over. The National & Provincial is to be sold to the Abbey National.

This effective privatisation of the industry fits well with the Government's deregulation drive.

Whether it will fit so well with the customers' interests remains to be seen. Building societies never envisaged the wholesale selling of their industry when they asked for the right to convert. The original request was born from a desire to protect the industry's good name — not

destroy it. The industry wanted the 1986 Building Societies Act to allow conversions so that businesses which were bringing societies into disrepute could be kicked out of the sector.

Similarly, an escape route was thought necessary to dispose of a crashed society which no other society was prepared to rescue. Conversion would allow it to be taken over by another organisation.

But it is not too late for members who look to their societies for more than a quick buck to hang on to their heritage. The Halifax, N&P and Woolwich deals are not yet in the bag.

In the coming months, nearly 15 million members will get the chance to vote on the future of their society.

Money Guardian was edited by Teresa Hunter this week

When the float comes in

HOLDERS of membership accounts, including mortgages, will benefit from free shares in the new Woolwich plc when it floats on the stock market next year if they held at least £100 in a membership account or had at least £100 mortgage debt on December 31, 1995. If they continue to hold the account or borrow until the date of the flotation they are eligible to vote on the flotation.

Who qualifies

- Holdings of:
- Share accounts
 - Prime Gold
 - Premier 90
 - Tessa
 - Woolwich for Kids
 - Woolwich investment bonds
 - Premier Investment
 - Prime accounts
 - Guaranteed Premium Share
 - Capital account
 - Supershare
 - Town & Country account
 - Super 60
 - Super 90 (Types A-D)
 - Fixed-rate bonds
 - Seven-day accounts
 - 28-day accounts
 - Monthly income shares
 - Cashbase
 - Sharesave accounts
 - Save as you earn
 - All mortgages

Who doesn't

- Holdings of:
- AVCs
 - Deposit accounts
 - Unsecured personal loans
 - Woolwich Life accounts
 - Insurance products
 - Unit trusts
 - Peps
 - Current accounts

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City poised for revolution as institutions given a month to back introduction of order-driven share trading

Deadline set for Big Bang 2

Patrick Donovan
City Editor

THE City is facing its biggest revolution since the market's 1986 "Big Bang" after the Stock Exchange yesterday gave the entire financial community just over a month to decide whether to back the introduction of order-driven share trading.

John Kemp-Welch, the exchange's chairman, set the clock running as he unveiled a restructuring of the share market to bring it into line with its main European competitors. The consultative programme is being seen as a last-ditch attempt to win back the City's confidence which has been badly dented by the recent sacking of the exchange's former chief executive, Michael Lawrence. Mr Lawrence was ousted last week after it became clear that he had lost the backing of his fellow board directors and major market practitioners because of his management style and failure to consult on the proposed reforms.

But the exchange yesterday insisted that its plans to restructure the market remain unaffected by Mr Lawrence's departure. The market has been given until February 17 to submit its views on three proposed changes to restructure its trading system. The aim is to introduce an order-driven market, whereby traders post bid and offers of share stakes they want to trade. The objective is to add this to the exchange's existing quote-driven system which entails market makers posting up the price at which they are prepared to deal in a share. Options being considered include: ● An order-driven system for all stocks, providing that higher-risk, larger deals, or block trades, can be dealt separately by telephone; ● An order book for some stocks and a quote book for others; and

● A hybrid quote and order book for some or all shares. Giles Vardey, the exchange's director of market developments, said that it was sending out questionnaires to all participants and would aim to decide on March 21. It would be ready to start the new look market on August 27 when new computer systems come on stream. Mr Kemp-Welch said: "The introduction of new services will improve the structure and quality of UK equity trading markets." He added that the changes were "essential to maintain our reputation as the market of choice". Early market soundings suggested that many leading

City players are anxious that the situation should be resolved. But one senior source warned that combining quote and order-driven systems could prove to be unworkable. He suggested that opting for a totally order-driven market, with separate dealing for block trades, would be the preferred option for many of the larger players. A spokesman for the Japanese bank, Nomura, said the situation had yet to be fully considered. But he added: "Electronic order-driven systems are the way of the future". He pointed out that this was the way that trade was carried out in most of the main overseas markets. NatWest Markets said: "We

are not against the principle of order driven markets". But the spokeswoman said that it had not finished evaluating the options which were on offer. David Jones, chief executive of Sharelink, the private clients dealing service, said last night: "We are interested in considering the proposals very carefully. But we do consider that the introduction of an order-driven market is in the best interests of individual shareholders." Other major broking firms — including SBC Warburg, Merrill Lynch and BZW — declined to comment on the grounds that they had yet to consider the proposals thoroughly.

Saturday Notebook

Don't shoot the messengers



Alex Brummer

THE return of the hostile 1980s-style takeover, symbolised by Granada's £3.8 billion assault on Forte, has brought with it financial spin-doctoring on a grand scale. It is the job of the financial advisers and investment banks to come up with all the cash wizardry, whether it be Granada's special dividend or the Forte pre-sale of its restaurants to Whitbread. And it is up to the experts in corporate communications to put a convincing message across to shareholders. This involves persuading both the analysts and the financial press of the strength of their case. Every minor incident, whether it be Sir Rocco's penchant for pheasant shooting or Gerry Robinson's liking for spiced chicken wings, is a weapon in the hands of the financial public relations people.

It has not been unknown for such experts to overstep the mark. During last year's bid battle for the construction group Amec by the Norwegian concern, Kvaerner, the defaming financial public relations group, Financial Dynamics, was deemed by the City referee, the takeover panel, to have gone too far. Financial Dynamics was allegedly responsible for leaking price-sensitive information to an analyst, which then found its way into the press. A new firm of public relations advisers, Dewe Rogerson, were drafted in quickly. The spin-doctoring resumed, but on safer ground, relating to the likely higher value of Amec shares in perhaps 12 months' time when the predator returned. In fact the spin doctors' lifeblood is their ability to put across their views to key journalists and in the process allow a certain amount of proprietary information — about defence tactics for instance — to drip into the marketplace. This potentially puts the journalist into an invidious position. By writing, for instance, of a likely improved valuation for the Forte hotels, they risk being seen as casting in their lot with one side in the takeover battle. Arguably, they may be in possession of price-sensitive information which should be confined to the defence team until it is disseminated to all shareholders.

SINCE the intelligence in which financial journalists deal can more often than not be price-sensitive and on occasions can be self-fulfilling — the speculation about Alliance & Leicester converting itself into a plc/bank falls into this category — they have to handle what they know particularly judiciously. A personal financial interest, with a building society conversion for example, can be particularly tricky. These questions have been seriously exercising US financial commentators lately. Money magazine last week dismissed Dan Dorfman, regarded as one of America's best-sourced business reporters. Mr Dorfman's reputation goes before him and a few chosen words in his stock market reports on the CNBC cable channel, or a mention in his

column in Money, was perfectly capable of moving the market. There is nothing about this which only applies to US commentators. Favourable mentions in any widely-followed British stock market report can do exactly the same. One can track how Forte shares climbed towards the higher offer price as reports that the Granada offer was on its way emerged earlier this week. In the case of the unfortunate Mr Dorfman, it has been alleged that he had become too close to one of his sources. The source, who worked in the marketplace, would provide Mr Dorfman with information that might then be mentioned in his stock report, causing a flutter on the market. The Securities & Exchange Commission have recently taken an interest in Mr Dorfman and his relationship to his sources. And Money magazine has parted company with its most famous writer because he declined to disclose his confidential sources to the editors.

The position is peculiarly unsatisfactory since the journalist has been dismissed, without anyone determining whether he has done anything more than report what his well-placed market sources have passed on. The problem for all financial journalists, given access to premium information, is to determine the motives of the source. If the intention of the source is simply to use the media to jump into the market and make a quick profit, then the information is best left in the reporter's notebook. The same is probably also true in the case of a stockbroker or fund manager pushing a particular share because they happen to have a proprietary stake in it. That is why some potential exclusives do not appear, because the reporter recognises the possibility that he or she might be used. In the case of hostile takeovers, which is where this Notebook begins, the same dilemmas do not really arise. The alert financial reporter knows exactly where the spin doctors are coming from: they are seeking the most favourable outcome for their clients. It is axiomatic that every claim made by one side, whether in public or more privately, will be counterbalanced by the other. Thus the Granada special dividend becomes an opportunity for the other side to question its tax implications.

The idea that financial journalists can be led one way or another by the communications — whatever the latter may promise to their paymasters — is preposterous. Indeed, newspapers are no more able to deliver victories in hostile takeovers than they can bring down companies. It is the large battalions with the shares, and consequently with the votes, who settle bids and the value of corporations. It ill behoves a company chairman to blame the calamitous decline in his company's shares on adverse comment in the press — as Sir Alistair Morton of Eurotunnel did this week. The duty of the financial press is to inform shareholders about Eurotunnel's load factors and the state of negotiations on the £8 billion debt mountain. Anyone reading such disappointing reports, small investor or big battalions, may well decide to sell. Attacking the messengers whose job it is to provide all stakeholders with as much information as possible, cannot be considered a mature management strategy.

Argos adds to euphoria on high street

Roger Cowe

BOOMING Christmas sales at Argos have added to the evidence that high street spending is clawing its way out of the prolonged slump. The catalogue chain said that sales in the five weeks to Christmas at stores which had been open in the previous year were 8 per cent higher. Including new stores, sales were 14 per cent higher than in 1994. The figures continued the buoyant trend which Argos had seen throughout the autumn. The biggest sales increases came in furniture, bedding and leisure products. ● Publisher Hodder Headline, which campaigned against the New Book Agreement, said its Christmas sales were 13 per cent higher than in 1994, taking the increase for the year to 10 per cent and led by sales to supermarkets. The Christmas sales represented a bounce back after a poor third quarter.

Maxwell jury declines weekend off

Dan Atkinson

MAXWELL trial jurors yesterday failed to reach a verdict after more than 34 hours' deliberation. They also did not respond to an invitation from the judge, Lord Justice Phillips, to inform him if they were hopelessly deadlocked. The jury rejected as well his offer to take the weekend off; instead they asked to be allowed to work a shortened day today and, if no verdict has been reached, to take Sunday off. This was agreed. Yesterday marked Day 126 of the Maxwell trial, but the judge assured jurors they were under no time pressure. Kevin Maxwell, aged 36, his brother Ian, aged 39, and former Maxwell aide Larry Trachtenberg, aged 42, deny conspiracy to defraud pension funds by misusing £22 million worth of shares in the Israeli company Teva. Kevin alone denies conspiring with his father to defraud the pension funds by misusing £10 million of shares in another Israeli company, Scitex.

Robinson accuses bid target of mischief-making ● Granada signs £100m TV deal

Whitbread seeks support for Forte

Ian King

WHITBREAD, the brewing and restaurants group, is to embark on a road-show of City institutions next week in a last-ditch effort to press them into supporting Forte, which is resisting a £3.8 billion bid from Granada. Whitbread has reached an agreement to buy Forte's Welcome Break, Happy Eater and Little Chef chains for £1.65 billion — a figure that is regarded by analysts as a bargain price — if Granada's bid fails. If Granada wins, however, Whitbread comes away with nothing, and for that reason, the brewer is anxious to ensure a Forte victory. Earlier this week, Whitbread denied it was talking to Granada about the possibility of buying the Welcome Break chain in the event of a Granada victory. While Whitbread will be meeting only its own major shareholders, many of them will also own substantial stakes in Forte.

A spokesman said: "Whitbread has entered into a conditional agreement for a deal worth over £1 billion, and so of course we are going to talk to our shareholders — it's common courtesy." Meanwhile, Forte yesterday returned to the offensive, claiming that Granada had miscalculated the tax implications of its proposed giveaway to shareholders. Forte said that Granada, which has promised to pay a 47p special dividend to shareholders if its £3.8 billion bid for Forte is successful, had structured its plans in such a way that it risked breaking Inland Revenue rules. Forte said it would be seeking the Inland Revenue to "give its views on matters", and said it had been advised that "on a balance of probability", it expected the Revenue to rule against Granada. Announcing the move, Forte's finance director, Keith Hamill, said: "The tax issues arising from the type of proposals made by Granada are complex and difficult, and there is unfortunately sub-

stantial scope for serious errors — particularly under the unusual pressures involved in making a hostile, leveraged bid with limited information." However, Granada dismissed Forte's tax claims, insisting it too had taken professional advice before announcing the dividend. Granada said it expected to minimise any tax liabilities it faced as a result of either the takeover or the dividend, and said that on that basis, the tax consequences would be "insignificant". Chief executive Gerry Robinson added: "This is nothing more than mischief-making by Forte. We think that their hysterical attempt to deprive their own shareholders of the tax benefits of our offer is unedifying." Granada also received a boost yesterday from leading City stockbroker NatWest Securities, which, in a research note, recommended Forte shareholders to accept Granada's offer. Shareholders must make their minds up by January 23.



Life with the Duckworths... Jack and Vera will continue to battle on ITV

ITV network keeps Coronation Street and The Bill

GRANADA and Pearson yesterday signed deals thought to be worth £100 million which will keep two of ITV's most popular shows, Coronation Street and The Bill, on the ITV network for at least two years. The deal ends months of speculation that The Bill, which is made by Pearson's Thames Television subsidiary, or Coronation Street,

which is made by Granada, were set to go to other channels. It had been rumoured that BBC5 — in which Granada holds an 11 per cent stake — was interested in Coronation Street, while the new Channel 5 — in which Pearson is a shareholder — and the BBC were both reportedly interested in The Bill. However, under the deal

signed yesterday, the Street, which celebrated its 35th anniversary last month, will stay with ITV for another two years, while The Bill, which regularly pulls in 15 million viewers, will stay until 2000. The deal also covers the planned fourth weekly episode of Coronation Street, which is due to start this autumn.

Grid chiefs' £1.5m perk revives windfall row

Simon Beavis
Industrial Editor

THE row over boardroom greed in the privatised utilities erupted again last night after the National Grid quietly unveiled a share option scheme from which four top directors stand to make £1.5 million — up to 40 per cent more than under an earlier perks package. Shadow chancellor Gordon Brown said it was new proof that the Government had failed to stamp out excessive pay and perks in privatised companies. The new share option scheme was put in place to take account of the capital restructuring of the grid just before its flotation last month. Under the new package,

chairman David Jefferies was last night sitting on a potential profit of just under £200,000 on a package of 418,580 shares granted under a share-save scheme. Most of the options are exercisable immediately, although for some he would have to wait until March next year. Although the new scheme is supposed to mirror a package put in place before the capital shake-up of the grid, it will provide the directors with a bigger windfall. Mr Jefferies stands to make £169,000 more under the new scheme. Three other directors are also in line for bigger payouts. Chief executive David Jones is sitting on a nominal profit of £243,371, Colin Gibson, power network director, £274,112, while finance direc-

tor Roger Uttley could net £392,593 at yesterday's market price for grid shares of 196p. The new package flies in the face of one of the key recommendations of the Greenbury report on top pay, that directors should not be able to realise quick profits on options soon after flotation. But a spokeswoman for the grid insisted that the scheme was only the reworking of a package put in place before the Greenbury recommendations were released. She said that it was a normal capital restructuring which also took account of the sale of the grid's First Hydro pump storage power station business in North Wales for more than expected. Grid chiefs have, however, already received special dividends from that sale.

Troubleshooters for fragmented rail firms

Keith Harper
Transport Editor

THE Government is creating two new rail troubleshooters to adjudicate on legal disputes that are becoming more frequent in the industry, which is being broken up into more than 100 parts. The move comes as it emerged last night that the banks have reservations about the flotation of Railtrack, the public company that now owns the stations and track. Some banks have already gone cold on the sell-off of some smaller parts of the network. But doubts about the flotation of Railtrack, due in May, is a more serious matter. The Department of Transport

has written to nearly 30 banks worldwide inviting them to become involved. Each bank would be expected to underwrite part of the deal. The trouble-shooting quango is the access disputes resolution committee, specifically to handle operators' grievances about track use, and the railway disputes resolution committee, for other matters. They will mediate between the 25 passenger operating companies and Railtrack, which is responsible for infrastructure. They will be run by chairmen with legal qualifications, whose salaries will be "subject to negotiation", but are expected to be in six figures. Labour's Transport spokesman, Brian Wilson, said last night: "This confirms the impression of a fragmented railway to be run in the interests of lawyers. Ministers have realised that they need these committees in order to keep as many of the disputes as possible out of the courts."

TOURIST RATES — BANK SELLS

Australia 2.01	France 7.36	Italy 2.80	Singapore 2.18
Austria 15.30	Germany 2.16	Malta 0.54	South Africa 5.475
Belgium 4.25	Greece 365.00	Netherlands 2.40	Spain 181.02
Canada 2.03	Hong Kong 11.70	New Zealand 2.30	Sweden 10.02
Cyprus 0.66	India 55.25	Norway 9.54	Switzerland 1.73
Denmark 8.36	Ireland 0.85	Portugal 225.00	Turkey 88.079
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سكنا من الامل

Dearer phone bills delayed in the post

While the minister fiddles in Rome, JOHN GLOVER finds it still costs a packet to file his copy from Milan

FINALLY! exclaimed Francesco Chirichigno, managing director of Telecom Italia, Italy's state-controlled telecommunications monopoly, on hearing that the minister of posts had agreed to issue the decree needed to "rebalance" its tariffs.

Mr Chirichigno spoke too soon. The news that long-distance and some international calls would cost less, while the price of local calls would rise, broke to howls of protest from unions, parliament, consumer associations and — intriguingly — Internet providers.

Ministerial decrees take effect only when published in the Official Gazette. Somehow, in spite of government assurances that the price rises would be pushed through, the decree has not yet appeared. (The EU competition commissioner, to the minister of posts.)

"Elements of the phone tariff do not correspond to the relative costs and the imbalance that results is subsidised by other elements," Mr Van Miert noted. In other words, business subsidises households, potentially inhibiting competition.

Lurking beneath the row over the rise in household phone bills is concern over the price and income agreement that has underpinned Italy's economic policy for the past three years.

Under this, the unions agreed to limit pay demands to the planned inflation rate, 3.5 per cent last year. Inflation turned out to be nearer 6 per cent, meaning wages have fallen.

Hefty rises in utilities bills are politically controversial. The state railway company had been hoping to do some "rebalancing" of its own to change the present system, whereby fares depend solely on distance, irrespective of how busy the route is. But the transport minister has ruled out any imminent change.

"For the moment it's not under discussion," he said.

Unemployment to hit four million as beleaguered government faces spectre of recession Kohl's coalition on the ropes

David Gow

THE traditional new year mood of gloomy foreboding in Germany intensified this week as the spectre of recession and political crisis gripped Europe's largest nation.

But, for once, this cannot be dismissed as typical German self-pity. The prospects for Helmut Kohl's coalition government, with its parliamentary majority of 10, are bleak. Three state elections in March could sound the death-knell for the Liberal FDP. Dr Kohl's junior partners, already on the verge of extinction, and force an early general election.

The Kohl government's prospects have been worsened by the rapid economic deterioration. Pan-German growth forecasts have been slashed, with the (normally pessimistic) DIW economic institute counting on a mere 1 per cent in 1996 and the government's 2 per cent forecast already discounted by independent experts. The Chancellor and Roman Herzog, the federal president, have moved unemployment to the top of the political-economic agenda.

This week's figures confirmed ministers' worst fears: a year-on-year rise in joblessness in December of 231,000, to 3.8 million or 9.9 per cent. Everyone agrees that by the end of the winter the headline total will have passed four million as the combined impact of a mid-cycle downturn and structural problems takes its toll.

A desperate Chancellor has made measures to alleviate joblessness the central topic of the latest round-table talks with state premiers, the Bundesbank and both sides of industry in Bonn on January 23.

A key proposal, enthusiastically endorsed by Dr Kohl himself, is the "Alliance for Jobs", first put forward in late November by Klaus Zwickel, head of IG Metall, Europe's biggest union, and thrashed out during five hours of talks with engineering industry leaders (in Gesamtmetall) at a

round on Thursday. But the scope for reaching a corporatist German consensus, traditional escape-route out of a crisis, is slim: industry now needs at least some UK-style deregulation ("flexibility") to survive in the global economy while the unions remain wedded to 1970s interventionism.

At the heart of Mr Zwickel's proposal is a tripartite agreement (union/employer/body/government) to help create annually. The quid pro quo would be a pay settlement — in 1997, at the end of the present two-year deal — set at price-inflation rather than the (higher) growth in productivity.

And, in a radical departure, overtime on top of the basic 35-hour week would or could be taken in extra leisure rather than at premium rates as industry moves to more individualised working-time contracts — as worked at BMW's German plants.

With this, Mr Zwickel has, for the first time, recognised the link between pay and jobs but, of course, Gesamtmetall wants to go further. Hans-Joachim Gottschalk, its president, needs a loosening of time-honoured collective bargaining this year, not next.

IG Metall has indicated it would allow the long-term jobs to be taken on initially at rates below the nationally-agreed basic minimum, but some employers want to reduce overall basic pay to an absolute minimum, topped up by productivity payments and individual bonuses, as a prelude to plant-level bargaining.

They also want to cut paid overtime by extending the normal working week to embrace Saturdays. Last year Germans worked around three billion hours' overtime — equivalent, arithmetically, to 1.7 million jobs.

So Mr Zwickel's overtime proposals have had a warmer welcome, but the outstanding issue remains German industry's need to reduce costs, the highest in Europe — and that means even deeper job cuts and reductions in social security contributions.

Even Dr Kohl will find it hard to fudge his way out of this conflict.

Last year Germans did three billion hours' overtime — equivalent to 1.7 million jobs

luxury hotel outside Frankfurt on Monday.

Little or no progress on the proposal was made, according to employer sources at the talks, and Mr Zwickel is insisting on agreement at the next

330,000 jobs, including 30,000 earmarked for the long-term jobless, over the next three years — in an industry likely to shed more than 100,000 this year alone — and to expand training places by 5 per cent

How Hungary is fighting the battle against an £8.1bn national debt. LUCY HOOKER reports from Budapest



In the swim — or taking a bath... at Budapest's Gellert Hotel. PHOTOGRAPH: ROBIN LAURENCE

Trying to strike up a rhapsody

WHEN the British textile manufacturers' Coats returned to Hungary in 1989 to reclaim their old inter-war production site in north Budapest, they found themselves thrust back into a Dickensian time warp. Dimly-lit factories still housed the same old machines they had left behind.

In 1989 modernisation became the catchword in Hungary. Foreign investors rushed in with greenfield projects and plans to import everything from cornflakes to designer clothes. Nowadays, smart-fronted shops nestle beside Marks & Spencer and the Porsche showroom. Coins are no longer made of aluminium and you can, at last, extract money from a hole in the wall.

But the really hard part has only just begun. For four years Hungarians have trumpeted the victories of a war not yet waged. The country attracted over half of all the foreign direct investment in the former communist bloc and boasts an impressive level of political stability.

But successive finance ministers lacked the mettle to tackle more far-reaching reforms until, early last year, the economy threatened to spiral into disaster under growing budget and trade deficits and shaky international confidence. Finally, last March, troops were deployed and the battle began.

The soft-spoken but hard-edged Gyorgy Suranyi was made head of the National Bank. He introduced a crawling peg devaluation of the forint which rescued commerce from chronic uncertainty. That and an 8 per cent import duty pushed up prices but has boosted the trade deficit.

Lajos Bokros has taken on the challenge of reforming the budget. The new finance minister is tackling reform of the welfare system head on, despite objections from the establishment. He has forced a drop in the level of real wages, which, in the public sector, are already pitifully low, and is starting the unions in the eye.

"It is a question of life and death whether we are authorised to cut public expenditure," he said bluntly. Mr Bokros is losing friends faster than Napoleon outside Moscow but he is convinced he is right and resigned to his unpopularity, in the hope that in 20 years time he will go down as the man who led Hungary out of the valley of debt.

Too proud for their own good, in 1990 Hungarians refused to seek relief from the international loans which had financed their economic experiments of the 1970s and 1980s. Now they are saddled with a net debt of \$8.1 billion, which previously has absorbed up to 40 per cent of budget expenditure in interest payments, and a budget deficit this year of 4.5 per cent of gross domestic product.

Under these strictures, Hungary has had very little choice but to make sure that the privatisation of state assets happened fast and efficiently.

Hungary's State Privatisation and Holding Company sold off large chunks of the energy sector companies and will be taking in £1.4 billion in revenues. About half of that will go into the budget. The government promises the budget deficit this year will be under 4 per cent of GDP.

The company was so pleased with its achievements in December, it donated nearly a thousand pounds to help provide Christmas parties for orphans and widows.

Unfortunately, such seasonal displays of goodwill won't be enough to convince voters. Last year real wages fell by an average of 10 per cent as inflation hit 30 per cent and the government's intransigence over pay rises aroused bitter demonstrations and strikes.

Despite the good news over macroeconomic indicators there is still a lack of cheer in the business community. They complain of clumsy bureaucracy and a few qualified managers.

Just look, says one, at the implications of eastern Europe's first case of unauthorised chocolate dumping. Earlier this year at Kraft Jacob Suchard a machine was inadvertently left running overnight and in the morning the factory floor was awash with perfectly produced and wrapped Lila Pause bars.

Desperate to hide the disaster, the managing director had the crates left delivered to a nearby lake for brisk disposal. The dumping came to light and he lost his job. The local kids, of course, thought Christmas had arrived early.

Italy wakes up to pirate blues

John Glover in Milan

ILLLEGAL recordings account for one out of three sales of records made in Italy, says the international industry almost £100 million a year.

"This is an alarming situation, unparalleled anywhere else in the European Union," says Ippi, the industry's international trade body. The pirate trade, which ranges from illegally copied chartbusters to bootlegs of live performances, is no respecter of international boundaries. Ippi estimates that in 1994 Italy exported 15 million bootleg CDs. These are particularly difficult to stop, it claims.

The legitimate industry hopes to beat its blues with a \$800,000 investment in the new Federation Against Music Piracy, a body to be headed by Enzo Mazza, who made his name fighting the country's pirate computer software trade.

Ippi says that Italy has the fifth-largest music black market in the world, accounting for nearly half of all the illegal recordings sold in the EU. The scale of the problem is increasing — between 1981 and 1984, the legitimate market in Italy fell 20 per cent. In the rest of the EU it grew 5 per cent. Half of all cassettes, which account for more than a third of all recordings sold in Italy and mostly carry Italian artists, are illegal copies.

The problem is worse in the free-wheeling south of the country than in the more straitlaced north. In Naples, almost the entire music market is in the hands of the pirates. In this case tightly linked to organised crime.

In spite of tough new legislation on copyright protection, it will be hard to eradicate, mostly because of the shortcomings of the Italian courts, where action moves at funeral pace. Ippi expects that the five anti-piracy prosecutions it brought in 1994 will take at least five years to come to fruition.

Update

BULGARIA has begun distributing vouchers for its mass privatisation programme which involves around 1,000 enterprises. Around a million citizens are eligible, writes *Rositsa Simenova*. Most will pay 500 leva (€5) for vouchers with a face value of 25,000 leva. Most applicants so far are pensioners, who have to pay only 100 leva. Many Bulgarians, particularly young people, are reportedly sceptical about privatisation.

SHARES in the computer services group, Cap Gemini Sogefi, rose almost 10 per cent this week after the company unveiled changes in its corporate structure which effectively merge it with its parent, Sogefi. Fresh capital of 2.1 billion French francs (€275 million) will be invested by the company's three main owners. After the reorganisation, the new Cap Gemini Sogefi will have Daimler-Benz Interservices and Compagnie Generale d'Industrie & de Participations each holding "just under" 25 per cent.

MICHAEL Smurfit, 59-year-old head of Ireland's largest industrial company Jaffer-

Dozy Finns get a wake-up call to keep them up to markka

Jon Henley in Helsinki

AFTER undergoing a costly performance boost last year, Finnish cash dispensers are to be slowed down again because frustrated customers can no longer keep up with them, the machines' manufacturers said this week.

"Basically, we're giving people a little more time," said Tapani Penttila, managing director of Automata Fankkiantomatti, the Finnish banks' joint venture which runs 90 per cent of the country's cash dispensers.

"We were getting too many cases of the machines swallowing people's cards and even their cash before they knew what was happening. So we're giving them all an extra five seconds and introducing a loud beep to tell them to wake up."

Finland's network of 2,300 on-line machines was upgraded in October to im-

prove security and reduce queuing times. It took less than 30 seconds to complete most transactions, making Finnish machines among the fastest in Europe.

Now, however, the system is being fine-tuned to make it easier for customers who find the supercharged dispenser bewildering.

"Our research shows it often happens to the same sorts of people," Mr Penttila said. "People who gossip with their neighbour, for instance. There's more than enough time if you concentrate."

But Mr Penttila fears little can be done for the most common Finnish offenders: those who try to operate a dispenser while under the influence of alcohol.

"Very often, the problems occur in the late evening," he said. "I'll leave it to you to guess what the reason is. But there's a limit to what we can do for them. If you're not feeling 100 per cent, you really shouldn't try to work a dispenser."



Teamsters go to press in Dutch to fight dispute in New York state

Financial staff

THE American Teamsters Union, once famously led by Jimmy Hoffa, this week took its dispute with Holland's grocery chain, Royal Ahold, to the Dutch public.

The American union, angry at changes being made at the Ahold-owned Tops supermarket chain in upstate New York, took out large advertisements in Dutch papers to protest.

The Teamsters' copy claimed: "The lives of poor people and the elderly will be negatively affected as a result of these changes."

The advertisements carried the endorsements of 35 American elected officials, professors and clergy.

Royal Ahold, which operates Holland's largest grocery chain under the trading name Albert Heijn, called the advertisements "unjust and one-sided" and a press spokesman dismissed the Teamsters' position as nonsense.

At issue is Ahold's decision to introduce a new distribution system that, according to the advertisements, has led to the loss of 600 jobs in the state of Connecticut. Under the new system, called cross-docking, suppliers deliver their goods to one side of a distribution terminal. From there, the products are transported to the supermarkets by trucks waiting on the other side of the building.

This innovation enables Ahold to buy directly from producers, bypassing intermediate wholesalers, and cut distribution costs by a quarter.

"The biggest problem is that Ahold doesn't want to speak with the Teamsters Union. This is not normal in the Dutch way of behavior," said Willem Noordman, who heads the supermarket workers' branch of the Dutch Federation of Trade Unions.

Ahold refused to talk to a senior Teamsters official who visited Holland this week on the grounds that the issue should be dealt with in the US. The company claimed that the changes would not involve any loss of jobs.

"Teamsters overall is trying to get new members. To do this they are using a strategy of putting pressure on parent companies," said an Ahold spokesman.

Maxwell declines weekend

M

Financial Editor: Alex Brummer
Telephone: 0171-239-9610
Fax: 0171-833-4456

Finance Guardian

A lean, mean US weapons industry may soon be over here, taking European jobs, factories and exports. MARK TRAN in New York reports on the attackers. SIMON BEAVIS and MARK MILNER review the defence

Gunning for Europe

CUTS in Pentagon spending have led to a brutal contraction in the US defence industry, but the survivors stand to make handsome profits from what is still an \$89 billion (233 billion) domestic market. Lockheed Martin certainly intends to stick around. It was already the world's largest defence company, the result of last year's merger between Lockheed and Martin Marietta. Now it is set to cement its number one position by acquiring Loral, the defence electronics company. The result will be a colossus with annual sales of \$30 billion. Other American defence contractors are certain to react by forging alliances of their own. The consolidation is not over yet. At most, the industry may be two-thirds of the way through the process. By the next century, there will probably be three main American defence companies — Lockheed Martin, Northrop Grumman and McDonnell Douglas. Unless their European rivals can consolidate, these three will establish a stranglehold on the world's arms markets.

As full-service firms with economies of scale, they can get systems to you a lot cheaper," said Richard Bitzinger of the Defence Budget Project think-tank in Washington.

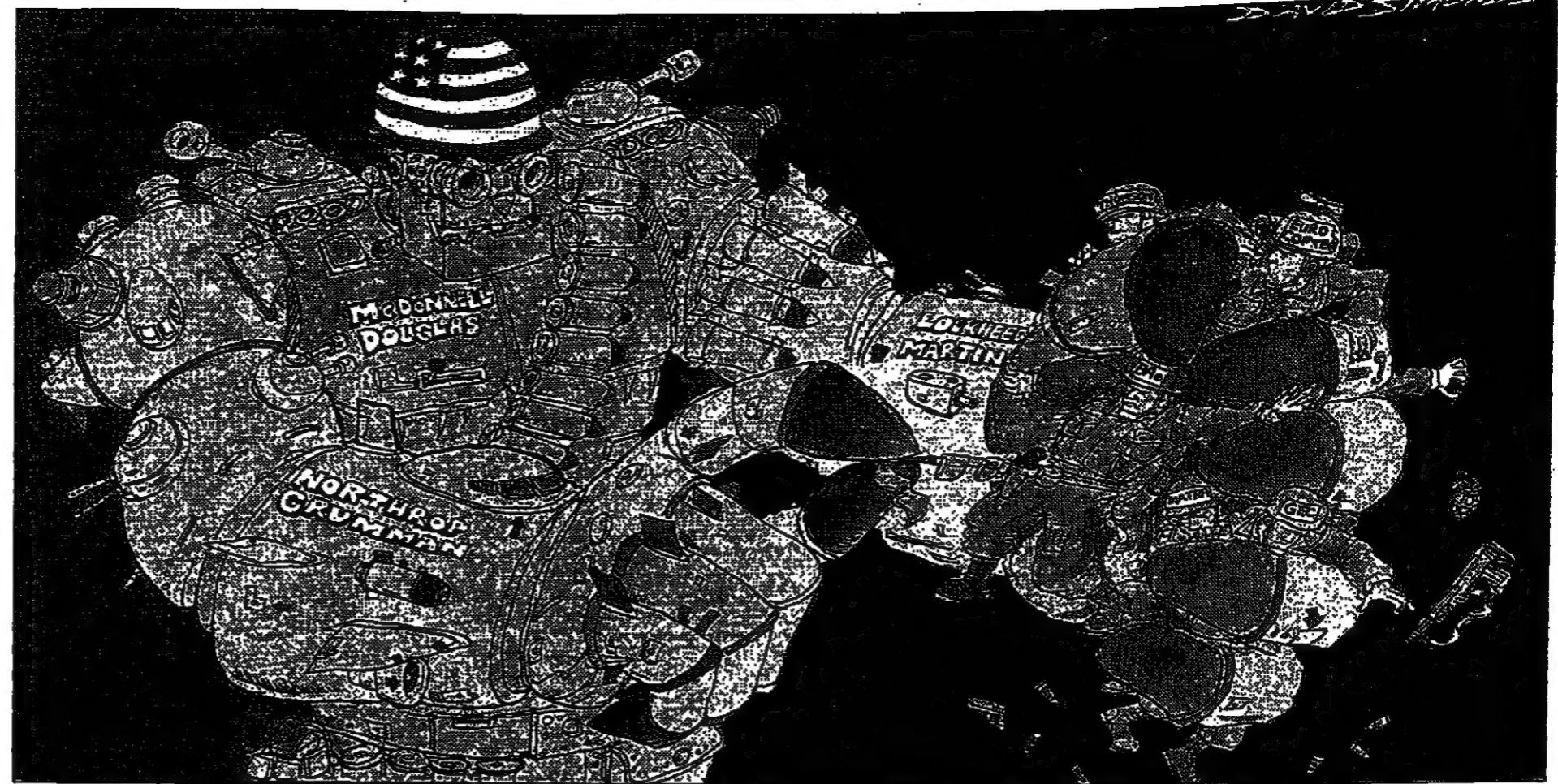
Warning signs for European companies are already flashing. US weapons producers exported \$11 billion worth of arms systems in 1993, grabbing a 49 per cent share of the world market, up from 32 per cent in 1991. Exports by British, French, German and Italian arms companies fell to \$6.3 billion from \$9 billion over that period.

The US market is big enough to sustain rapid consolidation and intense competition at the same time, and American defence firms do not have to contend with national interest and pride. American companies also enjoy a secure home market because a "buy American" policy makes the US virtually impenetrable to European competitors.

Europe has its "Europe first" policy, but countries are beginning to stray because of enticing deals offered by US companies. Recently the Dutch government chose attack helicopters from McDonnell instead of the Tiger models designed by Eurocopter. The Dutch thought they would save \$115 million and get a proven product instead of a helicopter only in the prototype stage. McDonnell sold Apache helicopters to the UK in a co-production deal with Westland.

As for the process of consolidation, that has been encouraged by the Clinton administration. With Defence Secretary William Perry, an arms procurement expert, stating his preference for a small but healthy group of defence contractors rather than too many weak ones. At a dinner in 1993 — nicknamed by defence executives the Last Supper — Mr Perry said the Pentagon hoped several aircraft firms, as well as some of the satellite and missile companies, would disappear through mergers.

The US defence industry has been taking place since 1987, the shrinkage has accelerated dramatically since the end of the cold war, with California only now beginning to come out of recession partly



History argues against united front

SHAREHOLDERS in British Aerospace have reason to be grateful to the US defence industry. Every time two of America's arms-makers merge, BAe's shares — only recently among the stock market's sluggards — soar. So it was this month with Northrop Grumman's \$3 billion purchase of Westinghouse's defence business and Lockheed Martin's

\$9 billion acquisition of Loral. Expectations that Europe's defence groups will soon be forced down the same road to rationalisation and integration led to a flurry of rumours which has driven BAe shares up from 78p to 85p since the start of the year.

The speculators may be jumping the gun. While industrialists see the necessity of integration, efforts by Europe's weapons-makers to pool resources have usually become bogged down by a morass of conflicting interests.

For a start, the European industry is more disparate than America's, with many more players scrambling for a piece of a much smaller cake.

But it is not simply a question of structure and ownership, although even that is complicated by the presence of the state in many countries. Governments hold other keys. Arms-makers are seen as important components of

both economic policy and defence strategy. They are often big employers — even a much alighted BAe employs 40,000 people — as well as big contributors to balances of payments.

"Every new deal in the US increases the imperative on the Europeans to do something, but there are too many differing aspects — governments, cultures and borders. It's as difficult as monetary union," says Chris Avery, analyst with French investment bank Paribas.

To date, cross-border corporate links are few. Co-operation, where it exists, has tended to be at the level of marketing agreements or confined to joint ventures.

The City believes that, because BAe is one of Europe's biggest groups and has done more than most by way of rationalisation, it will be at the forefront of any restructuring of the European defence industry. Indeed, the company foresees the emergence of European Aero-

space, in the same way that BAe emerged from the disparate UK aircraft-makers. For that reason, BAe has set its face against overtures from its largest national rival, GEC, about a merger — although rumours that Lord Weinstock is on the prowl again have been circulating in the City this week.

But BAe has been spectacularly unsuccessful in turning action into words. It failed to merge its missile business with Thomson CSF of France in the 1980s and has spent the past three years trying to do a mirror deal with Matra which is today stalled.

It has been better at marketing deals like its tie up with Saab of Sweden to market the JAS-39 Gripen fighter and a more recent

agreement to look to future aircraft designs with Dassault of France. Although talk of integration is often heard in the UK, the most successful moves have been on the Franco-German axis. Aeroespiale of France and Dasa of Germany already have a successful helicopter venture in Eurocopter. They have just announced plans

of greater political togetherness. Europe's arms-makers cannot. Added to that they have had to cope with national defence and industrial policy which has been fickle. UK ministers are now in two minds about an earlier commitment to try to promote industrial integration across Europe in arms purchases, even if it means subordinating the much-cherished policy of promoting competition. Recent indications are that the MoD, now under the free-marketeer Michael Portillo, has a renewed taste for competition.

For now, the focus is on Europe. But some doubters believe the hurdles are too high. So far, developments in America have been seen as a catalyst. But this week there has been intriguing, if a little far-fetched, talk that BAe is on the tip of a transatlantic tie-up with McDonnell Douglas. It might, in the end, prove an easier way to go.

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'You could almost go to Lockheed Martin and outfit your whole country'

induced by the massive layoffs in the many defence companies located there. Nationally, the roster of defence suppliers, large and small, has declined by some 75 per cent from 130,000 to 30,000 in the past 10 years. More than 1 mil-

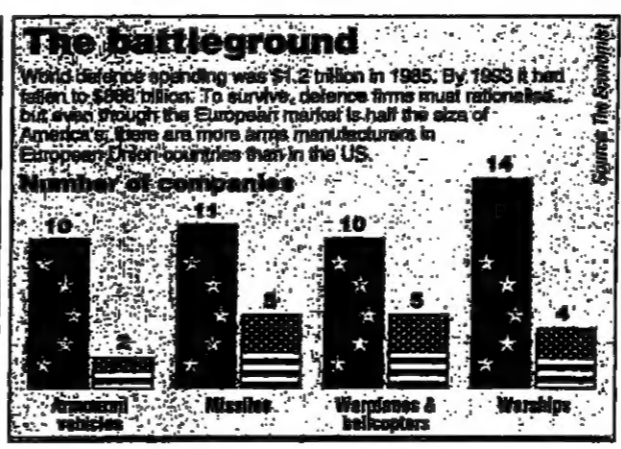
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business altogether, those assets are picked by firms which are prepared to work only in defence. Boeing, for example, is having to think long and hard whether to stick to its marginal defence business or get out of arms altogether. Companies in a similar position include General Electric, CTS, IIT and Texas Instruments.

One that has made up its mind is Westinghouse. Having bought the television network CBS and decided that its future lay in media, Westinghouse sold its defence electronics business to Northrop Grumman earlier this month for \$3 billion. There remains a raft of defence contractors up for grabs to their bigger brethren, including Fairchild, Honeywell and Thales.

In future, companies like Northrop Grumman and Lockheed Martin will be able to offer the whole range of weapons: combat aircraft, the electronic systems to run them and the weapons that arm them.

"You could almost go to Lockheed Martin and outfit your whole country," said Richard Pettibone, an analyst at Forecast International Partnerships.

Lockheed Martin has made no secret of its desire to make acquisitions in Europe. "The major driver will be market access," said Norman Augustine, Lockheed Martin presi-

dent. "In parts of Europe, we may see a wall erected that will make it very difficult for non-European firms to do business in that region. That suggests US companies may need an ownership stake in firms in those countries if they want to enter those markets."

Some executives have expressed concern about this drive for size. Harry Stomcipher, McDonnell Douglas president and chief executive officer, has warned that big size will bring in its wake a loss of nimbleness.

"Size has its disadvantages," he said. "A Tyrannosaurus Rex, which managed to survive its early battles with fierce predators, grew to an indestructible size and then died a slow death of starvation."

He predicted that defence mega-firms would one day choose to split themselves into smaller, more manage-

able, units to retain an entrepreneurial edge. But speculation is rampant that McDonnell will enter a deal with Boeing. A complete merger is unlikely, but the two could combine their defence units within a separate company. Each firm plans to expand its helicopter, missile, space station and rocket businesses. McDonnell has looked at buying the Sikorski helicopter company, a unit of United Technologies. Boeing has eyed Textron's Bell Helicopter company.

Many believe that McDonnell will be the next defence company to make a large deal. After recovering from near-collapse three years ago, it is flush with cash. European companies must be worried that if they do not consolidate they will lose out to the US in Asia and the Middle East, markets crucial for keeping the production lines going.

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Where big isn't best

Lisa Buckingham

LISTEN to Sir Rocco Forte and his hotel group's defence team and you could get the impression they were the first to cast doubt on the concept of conglomerates. They have tried to paint Gerry Robinson's Granada group as an old-fashioned conglomerate spanning a range of businesses including broadcast television, equipment rental, computer services and catering. Conglomeracy is, however, very substantially in the eye of the beholder. Pearson, for example, describes itself as a "focused media group", yet that banner covers merchant bank Lazards, Madame Tussards, book publishing, newspapers and television. And Sears, despite being dedicated to high street retailing, looks like a sprawling hotch-potch because of the huge array of

operating brands within its portfolio. Conglomerates, of course, began to go out of fashion in the mid-to-late 1980s, even though that period of takeover boom was still witnessing the creation of a number of conglomerate empires. It is arguable that the demise of the conglomerate owed a heck of a lot to external, and often extraneous, circumstances and much less to any realisation that the strategy of combining a wide range of businesses was inherently flawed. After all, the logic for conglomerates holds almost universally: that businesses tend to undergo performance cycles and by combining those with complementary cyclical patterns financial results can improve whatever the economic climate. But, as with many business evolutions, industrial logic has played second fiddle to the imperative of merchant bankers who need to keep a flow of deals to maintain their fee income. Corporate financiers were largely responsible for fanning the flames of the takeover spree and helped cement the City culture that a management more than a few days away from a big deal was not worth its salt. But once they had helped their clients gobble up all

manner of targets, they had to start suggesting disposals to stop fee income flagging. The pressure to improve performance by "doing something different" was, of course, felt also in British boardrooms, where few executives can resist the adrenaline buzz that comes from a deal. But, while fashion and the finance houses dictated disposals, there were a number of sectors, such as brewers, rushing headlong and highly successfully towards conglomeracy as a way of driving forward what were essentially mature businesses which had run out of growth. Traditional conglomerates, such as Hanson, Lorrho and Trafalgar House, have obviously contributed towards the chequered performance record of a sector now regarded as so unfashionable that its Stock Exchange classification has been changed to "diversified industrials". Whatever the corporate model, success has far less to do with following the imprecations of fee-driven merchant bankers who encourage "me too" hand-wagons which are bound to be of dubious merit for the last to climb on board and much more to do with stuffing the boardroom with people of real ability.

Quick Crossword No. 8021

Solution No. 8020

Across
1 Offensively certain (8)
5 Fastener or piece of film (4)
9 Cuban dance (5)
10 Artist or rope (7)
11, 23 Innocent-looking villain (4,2,5,1,8)
13 Choice (6)
14 Thin piece of fabric (6)
17 Left-wing alliance (7,5)
20 Reasoning or meditation (7)
21 Mathematical drawing (5)
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